VOLUME XVII FOURTH QUARTER 1997 $4.50

Southern PARTISAN

A SPECIAL ISSUE ASSESSING
The Legacy of the Southern Agrarians

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Lyle Lanier

Donald Davidson

Robert Penn Warren

Andrew Nelson Lytle

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Will They Be Forgotten In The 21st Century?

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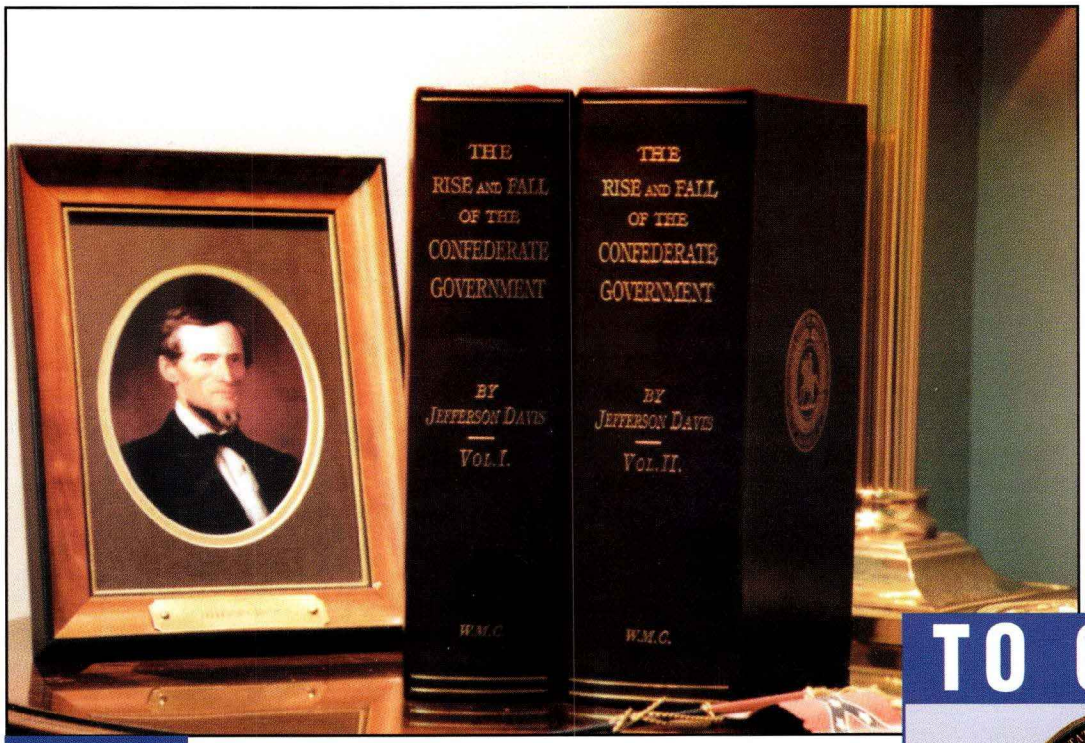

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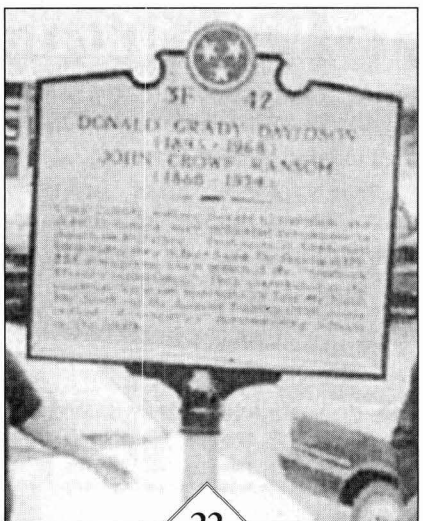

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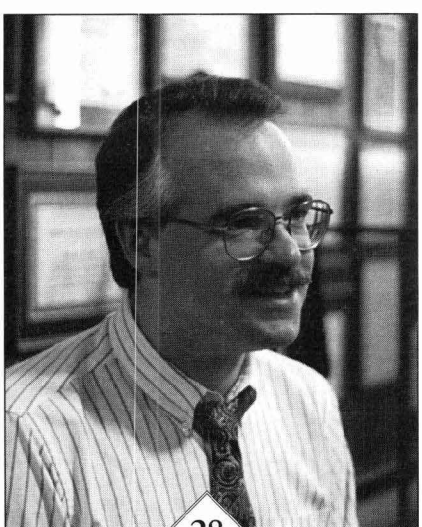

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Southern
PARTISAN

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Southern
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"If there were a Southern magazine, intelligently conducted and aimed specifically, under the doctrine of provincialism, at renewing a certain sort of sectional consciousness and drawing separate groups of Southern thought together, something might be done to save the South..."
—Donald Davidson to Allen Tate
May 1927

"No periodical can well succeed in the South, which does not include the *political* constituent...The mind of the South is active chiefly in the direction of politics...The only reading people in the South are those to whom politics is the bread of life."
—William Gilmore Simms
Southern Quarterly Review, April 1853

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A GOOD LINCOLN

Gentlemen:

My mother's maiden name is Lincoln, so it has long been assumed by my family that we are distant relatives of Abraham Lincoln. Moreover, having been brought up in the bowels of the Yankee beast (New York City), you can imagine the strong "northern partisan" environment I was raised in, especially when it came to allegiances concerning the War for Southern Independence.

Yet as an American History major, (at New York University of all places) I began to look at the conflict from a perspective that transcended regional alliances and upbringing, and choose instead to evaluate the issues based upon a limited government political philosophy.

By 1861, with the election of a President from a party that was completely sectional in its support, overtly hostile to all things Southern, and with an agenda of economic mercantilism similar to what King George tried to impose on the colonies, what choice did the South have? Passive submission to tyranny was not an option for such a proud and chivalrous people.

Besides, the South has a rock solid constitutional argument that the Union was formed by voluntary association of the states, and that the states have just as much right to leave the Union as to join it. Even the People's Republic of Canada granted the right to peaceful secession if the majority in Quebec wanted it. Ditto Slovakia from Czechoslovakia. Even the leaders of the former Soviet Union acceded to the right of secession, although they would have gladly used force to keep their empire together if there had been enough force available to them.

Unfortunately, the issue of secession is not always decided by voluntary, non-coercive choices made by a free electorate or their representatives, but by war. Thus, Bangladesh was able to gain its independence from an oppressive central government in Pakistan, whereas Biafra and the Confederacy could not.

So despite the region I come from, a higher loyalty stems from the conviction that free will should triumph over coercion. Therefore, there is no doubt in my mind which side deserves our support, despite the red herring of slavery that is always thrown at the feet of the Confederacy. On this point, an honest appraisal of the course of human history can lead us to no other conclusion then that slavery would have died a natural death—both for economic and moral reasons—and without the tragic loss of life or by sacrificing the ideal of limited government.

In observing the legacy of the war and its outcome, there is a lot more to mourn than just the Confederacy's defeat. The North also lost because it suffers equally under the heavy hand of an intrusive federal bureaucracy which spends, taxes, regulates (and in the case of the IRS) oppresses with reckless abandon. The bulwark against such intrusion was the South and its strict adherence to States' Rights.

Lance Lamberton
Lewisville, Texas

BUY SOUTH!

Gentlemen:

The article in *Obiter Dicta* section of your 2nd quarter issue entitles "Buy South" warmed my heart but why have you waited so long to address the issue? When I shop I make it a point to look at the label and ascertain the point of origin of the product. As you mentioned, *Bryan Meats* (West Point, Mississippi) makes no bones about it. They are the "Flavor of the South," but they make a lot more than hot dogs. They have a variety of lunch meats, turkey, beef and ham, as well as low-fat meats. Of course if you're in the Carolina area, you may also want to consider *Carolina Pride* (Greenwood, South Carolina). They also produce a quality lunch meat.

For the most part, "buying South" requires no change in lifestyle. Don't we already buy *Duke's* mayonnaise, *Cates*

or *Mount Olive* pickles, and *Coca Cola*? The Southern products that we already purchase are too numerous to mention. But we do need to make ourselves conscious of where our money is going.

When I was a boy growing up in the '50s, my mother kept a few jars of *Bama* (Birmingham, Alabama) jelly and preserves ready to go for toast and homemade biscuits. My favorite was strawberry and occasionally orange marmalade. I remember the matching sets of drinking glasses we accumulated, all with floral designs, because Bama packed their product in something that we could keep on using. Today, Bama still makes the same great product and printed on each Bama lid is the phrase, "Made with Southern Pride!"

Thanks for bringing the issue up. I hope more Southerners will take up label reading and help keep our money at home.

Glenn Dedmondt
Johnston, South Carolina

LOTS OF SIN

Gentlemen:

I gladly renew my subscription, although an occasional article you run seems to assume that indifference to the suffering or death of an animal is somehow the "conservative" position, or that to oppose the unnecessary killing of an animal for sport somehow reflects a "liberal" viewpoint. I wish you would not assume this of your readership. For myself, being a political, social, and religious conservative could never mean that I accepted cruelty to animals, or indifference to their suffering. I do not hunt, and do not believe killing an animal for sport is a moral act. Nor, to my mind, is such acceptable, simply because a lot of males in the South seem to enjoy hunting as a pastime. There's lots of sin in the world, including our native South.

For the record, I would point out something which I've never seen mentioned within the pages of *Southern Partisan*, namely, that both Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis preached and practiced kindness to animals. Both detested blood sports, and both reacted with strong disapproval to any form of cruelty to animals. Such beliefs were part of their Christian conservative world view.

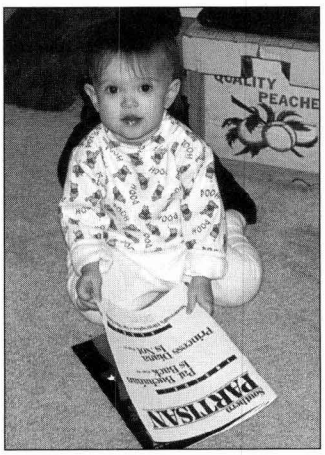
Donald Perkins
Mount Clemens, Michigan

Gentlemen:

The other day I came into my "study" (the room without kids' toys in it) and I found my year and a half old daughter, Katriane. She's not supposed to go in there, but I did leave the door open. She appeared as she does in this picture. Normally she eats whatever magazines are in the floor, but she was flipping through the pages of *Southern Partisan*.

I'd thought you'd like to see this picture. No, I didn't start teaching her young. She's seeking out truth for herself!

Patrick O'Kelly, Raeford, NC



TWO PARTIES?

Gentlemen:

I very much enjoy *Southern Partisan*, but have come very close to ending my subscription a time or two. I know you probably aren't too much concerned about my opinion, for who am I? But one thing bothers me a great deal: as far as I can tell, there are not two main political parties anymore—just liberal and somewhat more conservative branches of one party. We both know that the "Republican Party" of today is not the same as the old Southern branch of the original Democrat Party of pre-War times any more than it was under Lincoln. No political party truly represents the people who still hold to the constitutional views of the "Lost Cause"—and indeed how could there be such a party? The states (meaning the people thereof) are de jure, still "free, sovereign and independent"—but de facto, we know they are not! I just don't like the repeated suggestion found in your magazine that the Republican Party represents our original form of government, or the old Confederates who fought for its preservation. I do not expect "the South" to "rise again" (as we did); and if we do, I hope we aren't "Democrats" or "Republicans," as they are, since neither would have been welcome in Dixie in 1861—as I'm sure you will agree.

But otherwise I love your magazine. Stand pat!

Larry Burton
West Point, Kentucky

HOORAY FOR HOLLYWOOD?

Gentlemen:

I would like to report some good news in the continuing battle to suppress Southern heritage. We all know that the playing of "Dixie" has been banned at numerous high schools, colleges and elsewhere. However, it was surprising to hear it played recently in a major motion picture. The science fiction epic *Starship Troopers* features a dance scene where the actors dance to the violin strains of "Dixie." This futuristic movie, which is well worth seeing, is touted as one of the best science fiction pictures ever.

Besides the dance scene, the troopers wear snappy (Confederate?) gray uniforms. All this leads me to believe that we may have a Southerner or Southern sympathizer in Hollywood!

Wayne Marshall
Atlanta, Georgia

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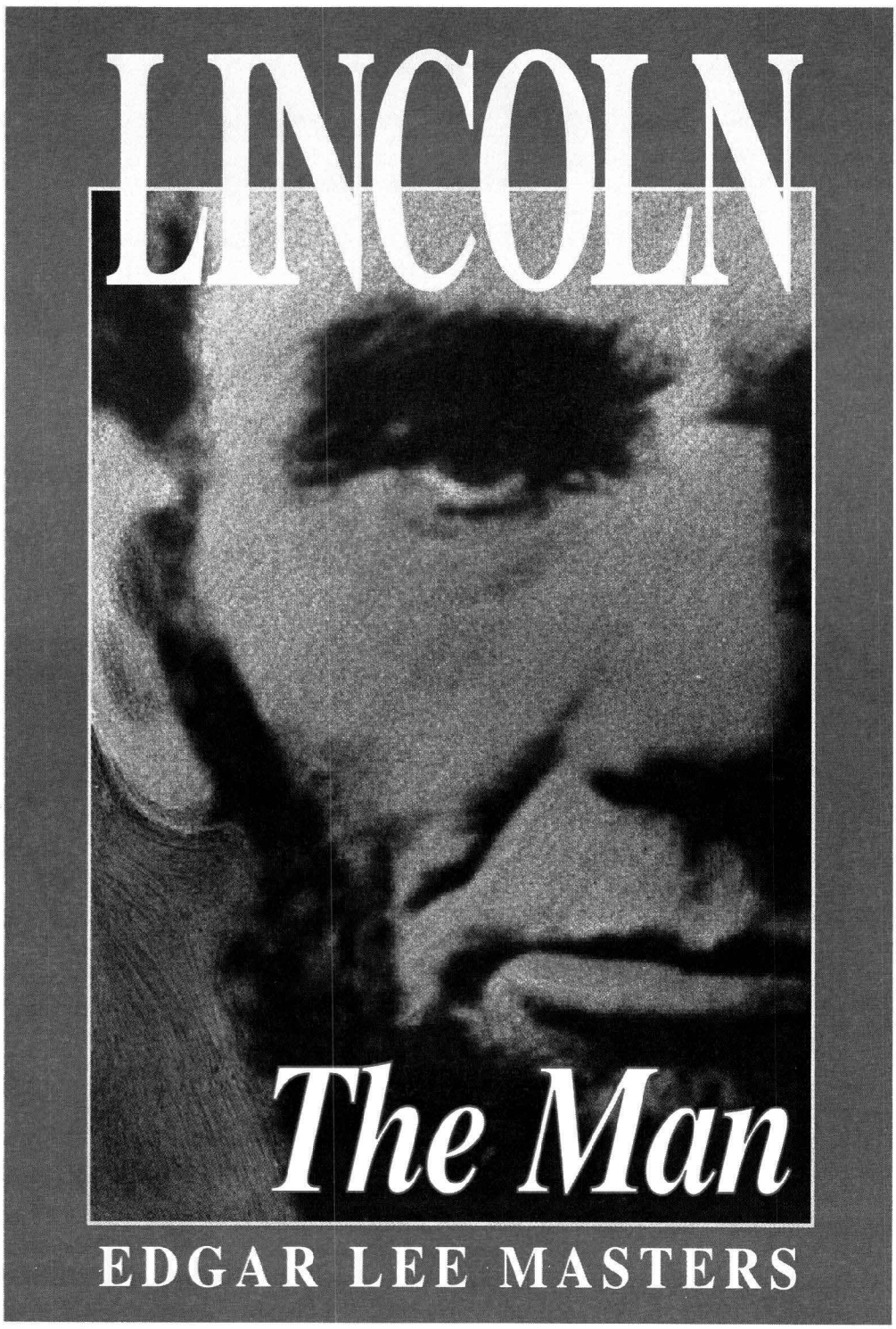
If You Think Bill Clinton Has A Character Problem, Take a Look At...



Written in 1931 by one of America's most highly respected poets and scholars, this book has been hidden away for over 50 years, for one reason only:

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* He stumbled onto the slavery issue and used it to consolidate his power.
* He used a lawyer's strategy from *Chitty on Pleading* to trick South Carolina into firing on Fort Sumter.
* He was not himself religious but cynically used religious rhetoric to advance his agenda.
* He was the first media "spin doctor" (after losing the Lincoln-Douglas debate, he then won the post-debate PR campaign).
* He was so embarrassed about his "poor" background that he refused to visit his own father's death bed.
* And we learn much, much more you will find in no other source.

From the beautifully written text of this lost book, the true causes of the War Between the States emerge more clearly than ever before.

Written by Edgar Lee Masters, the famous author of *Spoon River Anthology* (who was a native of Illinois) the scholarship in this book was able to withstand the most vicious attacks. In fact, as you will learn from the new introduction, the U.S. Congress actually attempted to ban *Lincoln The Man*, which was offered to the public only once in a brief first edition.

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—Claude Bowers

...the Lincoln myth is definitely a bad myth, and Mr. Masters deserves credit for shattering it... .

—Andrew Lytle

This May Be the Most Important Book You've Never Had a Chance to Read.

Double Barrel

Yes, Virginia, there is another *Southern Partisan* in your mailbox. Longtime readers will no doubt marvel that we have produced two magazine in two months, a rather unusual schedule for a quarterly publication.

The rush to press for this issue (mailed just thirty days after our last) is an effort to "catch up" with our 1997 publication schedule. This frenzied feat also means that, while others were sipping egg nog and enjoying holidays, writers and editors at *Partisan* headquarters were working overtime to bring you this issue.

True, our fourth quarter 1997 number appears a few weeks into the new year (for which we apologize) but it puts us in a good position to publish on a more punctual basis in 1998. But we won't promise never to be late again. Our promise to faithful readers is that we will give you four (4) magazines for your annual subscription. It just may take a little more (or a little less) than a calendar year to fulfill that pledge. We would much rather be on target than on time.

Amistad Sinks With Critics on Board

Maybe the public does have a mind of its own after all. For about a year now, smug entertainment industry journalists have been writing that the $200 million epic *Titanic* was troubled, bloated, over-budget, plagued with conflict and probably destined to sink at the box office. Of course, now we all know that the movie *Titanic* has turned into one of the most successful films of all time.

Meanwhile movie critics gushed with Pavlovian enthusiasm over Steven Spielberg's new "masterpiece," *Amistad* calling it "breathtaking" and a "must see" film for all Americans. But all Americans are apparently weary of propaganda films, especially those on the subject of race, and *Amistad* is sinking at the box office. In fact, over the past two years, several movies focusing on how badly white folk have treated black folk produced extravagant critical raves and flopped commercially.

Amistad, which is full of hysterical tones and historical inaccuracies, richly deserves its fate. We are never told by Spielberg, for example, that the slave cargo in *Amistad* was captured and sold by fellow African blacks; that several major characters in the film never existed in real life; or that key jurists who voted to free the slaves were themselves Southerners who owned slaves.

Meanwhile Spielberg's production company, *Dreamworks*, is sending free study guides based on his movie to public school classrooms all across the country. The guides, designed to promote the movie, present Spielberg's fiction as fact to the gullible teachers and school children of America. Look for the study guides in a classroom near you. You may want to ask the teachers in your area not to use this propaganda in your schools. But at least tell your children that *Amistad* is a mixture of some history with a whole lot of fiction.

The North on Ice

We hesitate mentioning to our Yankee friends in New England (most of whom are suffering a cold weather disaster of historic proportions) that January has been mostly pleasant and unusually warm down South. We hesitate because (a) bragging is unseemly; and (b) we already have enough tourists jamming our countryside.

As we go to press, Al Gore is jethopping all over the icy New England landscape declaring one community after another as official federal disaster areas. Disaster is precisely the right word but for reasons Al isn't talking about. Old, previously prosperous Yankee states are now in rapid decline.

In fact, things have gotten so bad in the upper-sixteen that others are starting to notice. A recent issue of *American Spectator* magazine laid out the problem in a piece entitled, "Is the Northeast Necessary?" And the venerable *Wall Street Journal* wondered if anyone would notice if the port of Boston suddenly fell into the ocean. A recent economic comparison of several old American port cities yielded some big surprises: Boston now exports about $6 billion in goods per year. Further South, Baltimore, Maryland exported $21 billion. And even further down the coast, Charleston, South Carolina topped them both with $25 billion per year in exports.

What explains the difference? Well, it ain't the weather. Massachusetts leads the nation in taxes, big government and big labor. And those are disasters that Al Gore can't fix.

The Mother of All Queens

We take perverse pleasure in noting that the feverish movement to sanitize American history has erupted in New York State. Queens (a neighborhood of New York City) may soon be looking for a new name.

Recently, a plan was announced to erect a 35-foot statue memorializing the woman for whom the borough was named, Queen Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. Suddenly someone discovered that good Queen Catherine was (gasp) a slave holder. Sensitive New Yorkers are in shock. Organizers are exhorting the proletariat to storm the city gates if the project goes forward. We say: "Let them eat bagels."

The Dreaded Union

The arguments for and against various types of political union are nothing new in this country, having been thoroughly contested during various heated debates—and military struggles—between 1776 and 1865. But the arguments are not as well understood in Europe, where prounionist pundits have attempted to bolster their case by citing the American experience. Comparing the

states of the American union to the modern nations of Europe, they argue that the wealth, prosperity and relative peace enjoyed by Americans will some day be enjoyed by Europeans once political power is concentrated in Brussels and the bad old ways of national sovereignty are finally gone with the wind.

Careful students of American history can immediately see folly in this argument. The benefits of allegiance to the almighty dollar are bought at a cost. What you give up is something the French and British have long valued: the concept of sovereignty.

Euros should also note that the greenback was strictly a war-time measure to help Mr. Lincoln finance a costly and deadly campaign against Southern independence. The National Currency Act of 1863 succeeded where other single currency plans failed because the U.S. government possessed the power and desire to coerce the states. It still does, 135 years later.

And, yes, we do have more than our share of wealthy people in America today. But being fat and being happy are not necessarily the same. Mr. Chirac and Mr. Blair may profit by taking a closer look at the down side of coercing union.

More Flag Fights

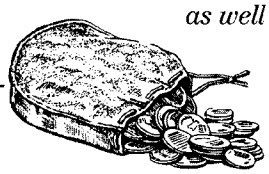
Britain is in the process of learning another example from us: the power of flags and the importance of complaining. Consider these recent events:

- Two Liberal Democrat Members of Parliament have declared their intention to propose that both the Union Jack and the national anthem be scrapped.
- Organizers of something called the Millennium Dome museum are playing down the importance of British history and Christianity and have banned the Union flag from their exhibits.
- British Airways has dropped the Union Jack from its tail fin in favor of an ethnic theme from the Ncoakhoe tribe of the Kalahari, a tribe not previously known to have much of an air force. Margaret Thatcher, George Bush's backbone surgeon and a director of BA, called the new fin design "terrible." Her husband's comments were not so mild.

Just like in America, a defender also rises, in this case in the form of former Diana pal Richard Branson. Mr. Branson, chairman of Virgin Atlantic Airways, stepped into the middle of the controversy by unveiling a new Virgin tail fin logo which prominently features the British flag. "We have been inundated with calls from customers asking us to pick up the flag and fly it proud," Mr Branson said. Quite so. Here, here.

Whether in Britain or in the States, there's no substitute for being inundated with calls from customers. The lesson? Whenever our symbols are in danger, complain loudly. ✪

Scalawag Award



Treachery at Texas A&M

Texas A&M University has a new Commandant of Cadets, Major General Ted Hopgood.

At this writing, we do not know where Ted comes from (only born Southerners can be true Scalawags) but we know all we need to know about Ted's character and poor judgment. Herewith is a portion of a change in language Ted Hopgood has placed in *The Standard* of the Corps of Cadets:

Outfit logos and signs

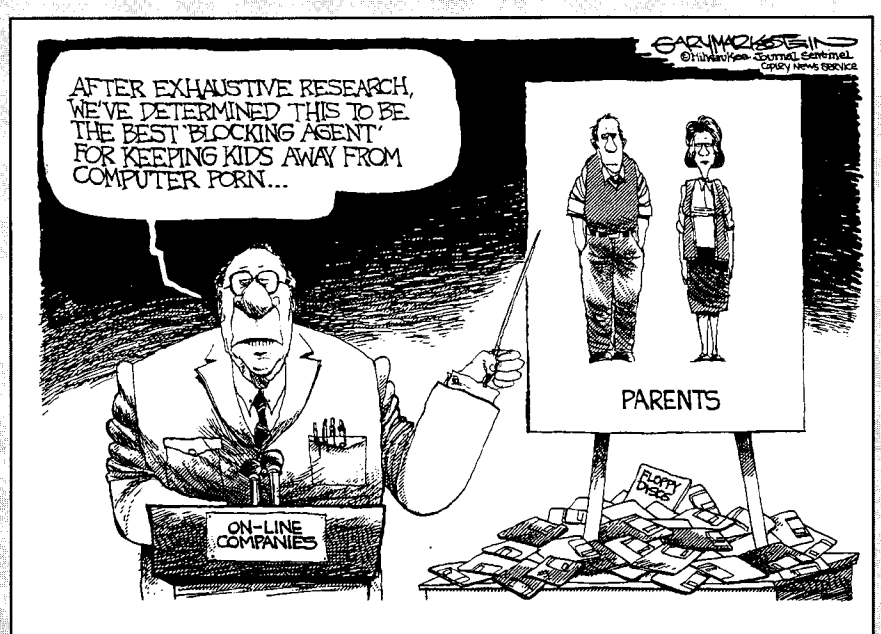
1. Policy. Outfit logos and signs are intended to enhance unit pride and esprit. Logos also convey outfit goals and traditions to other Cadets as well as to other students, faculty, parents and observers of the Corps. Therefore, outfit logos and signs will exclude the following: alcohol, drugs, Confederate and Nazi flags or symbols, cult and/or hate symbols, references to death, kill, murder, maim, pillage and other references which could reasonably be interpreted as counter to the mission of the Corps of Cadets and the desired image of Texas A&M University.

There you have it. "Confederate and Nazi flags or symbols, cult and/or hate symbols" all in the same breath. If this bizarre clustering of symbols is allowed to stand at Texas A&M, that means Confederate leaders are the moral equivalent of Adolph Hitler; and that the battle flag under which generations of Southerners bled heroically will be regarded, at least at Texas A&M, as a cult symbol of hate. Few assaults against Southern heritage have been as outrageous as this one.

In issuing this insult to everyone who loves the South, Major General Hopgood apparently has significant support from other authorities at Texas A&M University (TAMU). Recently a group of re-enactors made a routine request to TAMU to supply a band contingent for an event honoring Brigadier General Lawrence Sullivan Ross, CSA, a former TAMU President. When TAMU authorities learned that Confederate flags would be present, they declined.

Should you desire to be heard on this issue, the address at Texas A& M is College Station, Texas 77843. Major General Ted Hopgood is Commandant of Cadets. He reports to Dr. Malon Southerland, VP for Student Affairs; and he in turn reports to Dr. Ray Bowen, President of the University. For this issue, we designate these three as the ScalawAGGIES of Texas A&M. We can only hope that the eyes of Texas are upon them. ✪

PARTISAN toons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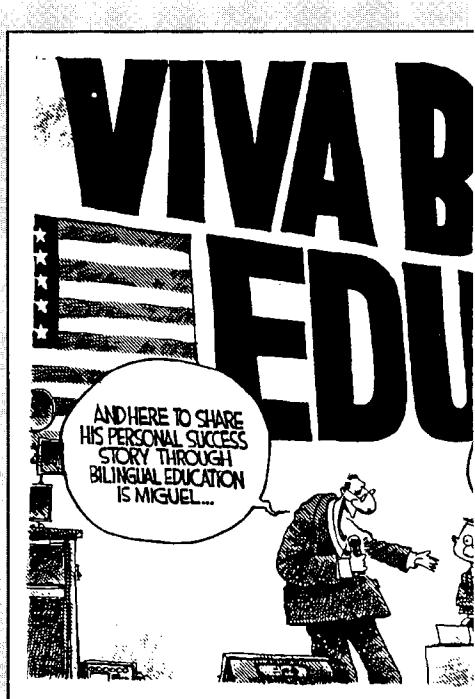
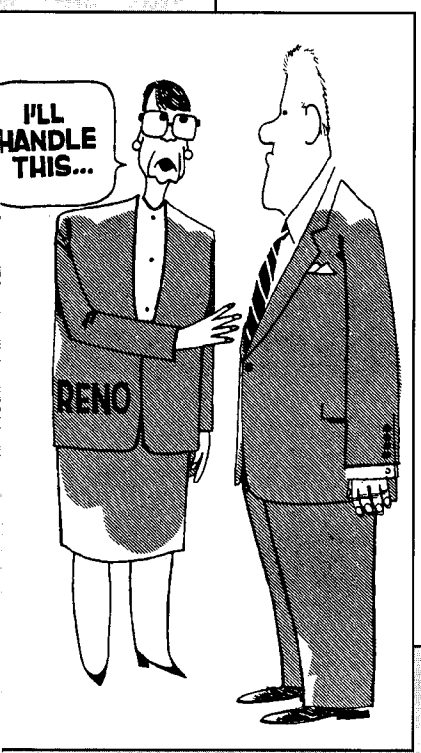
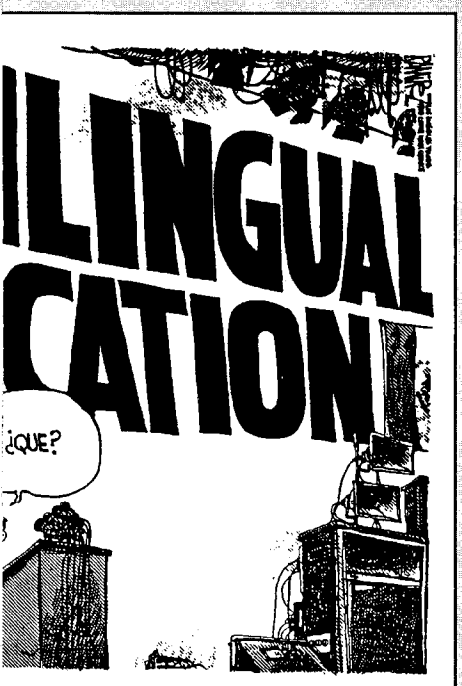
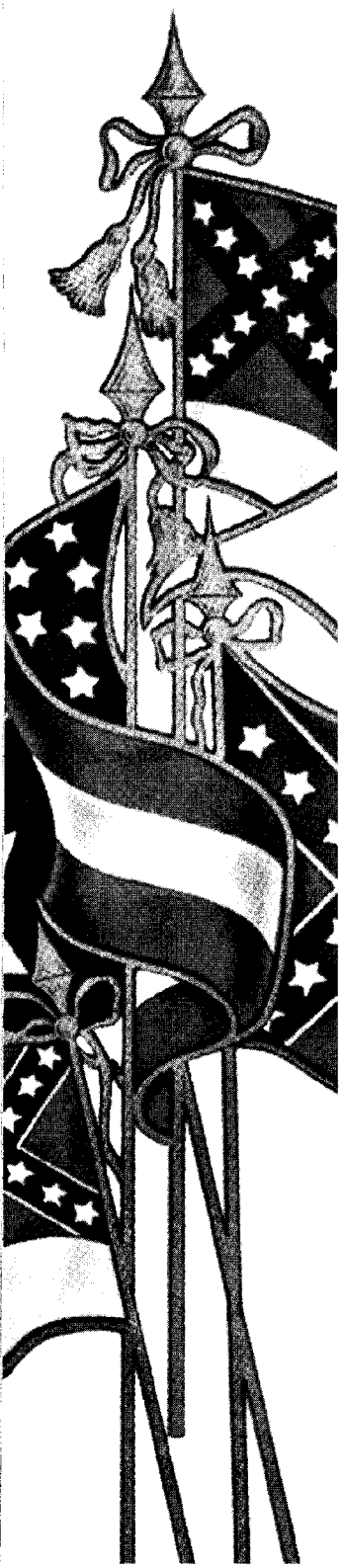


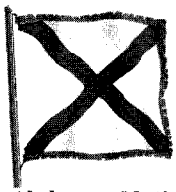




THE CURE FOR AIDS.

CSA TODAY





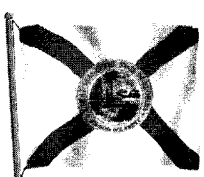
ALABAMA

At the moment everything is on hold in Alabama—no U.S. troops with bayonets, no Alabama National Guard packing live ammunition. So far Bill Clinton has not picked up the gauntlet that Gov. Fob James has thrown down. The Second War Between the States hasn't begun—at least not yet.

However, in DeKalb County schools the federal prayer police are patrolling the classrooms, halls and lavatories. U.S. District Judge Ira Dement has forbidden any religious activity in any corner of any school. No voluntary prayer. No spontaneous hymns of praise. No rolling of your eyes heavenward. If you're a student or teacher and use the word "God," you'd better be cursing.

By now, it should be clear to everyone that something is radically wrong in America, that the ideologues of political correctness have gone too far and suddenly found themselves at odds with reality. A number of wrong-headed judicial acts, beginning with the prayer decision in 1962, have put government at war with religion, and Judge Dement, like U.S. Grant, is demanding unconditional surrender. Now, at the 11th hour, no one knows how to circumvent the irrepressible conflict.

May You-Know-Who have mercy on us all.



ARKANSAS

In Little Rock, three white supremacists have been charged with instigating a revolution. According to the indictment, they had planned to kill all police and public officials, then institute polygamy to replenish the population.

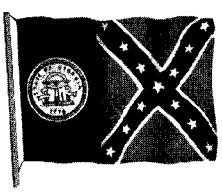
Our man in Pine Bluff says this was nothing more than a diversionary tactic, staged by the Clinton crowd to turn the media's attention away from the Paula Jones trial.

FLORIDA

A 450-pound lion escaped from Jungle Land in Kissimmee and was recaptured in a swamp near Disney World—which is a long way for a lion to travel. Spotted by a helicopter, the animal was disabled by a tranquilizer gun.

When interviewed on her way back to Kissimmee, the lion, Nala, denied that she was on her way to the huge entertainment complex, despite the fact that her name comes from the movie "The Lion King."

"I'm a Southern Baptist," she said, "and we're boycotting anything Disney. I was going to Jacksonville Beach and took a wrong turn."



GEORGIA

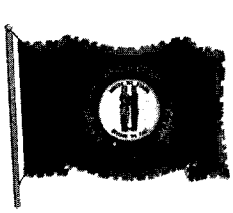
In Atlanta, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) had good news and bad news for the National Organization for Women (NOW).

First, the good news.

Apparently abortions are up in 1997, after a steady decline since 1990. The complete analysis isn't available yet; but Florida and Texas reported higher figures, so it looks like NOW will be popping champagne corks after the final report is released.

Now for the bad news.

In a separate report, the CDC announced that drunk drivers are killing fewer children these days. As a matter of fact, the rate fell 51 percent from 1985 to 1996. This is a real blow to NOW's goal of a child-free society by the year 2050.



KENTUCKY

As we go to press, the networks have closed the lid on any in-

depth coverage of the school massacre in West Paducah. After featuring the story the first night, they suddenly found themselves in trouble:

- The 14-year-old murderer was initially identified as an atheist who had made disparaging remarks about the prayer group.
- The victims were praying Christians.
- And if that wasn't bad enough, the killer told investigators he'd seen "The Basketball Diaries," a film in which a character had dreamed about gunning down students in a Catholic high school.

Within hours, the TV industry had begun to cover its enormous posterior.

- They found a Lutheran minister who said the murderer wasn't an atheist, though they didn't explain precisely how the minister knew the inner workings of this boy's mind and soul.
- They said the "non-atheist" boy had probably opened fire on the Christian group, killing three girls, because members of the football team had teased him and a football player was in the prayer group. In other words, the crime victims were to blame.
- They refused to speculate on the role "Basketball Diaries" might have played in the tragedy, because everyone knows that films and television never have adverse effects on youngsters.

Meanwhile, questions abound. What kind of family did this boy come from? What did his parents teach him? What else did he reveal under questioning that might shed light on his behavior? Were others involved, as the murderer himself suggested? And why, if he hated the football team, didn't he start blasting away at them instead of a Christian prayer group?

Don't expect answers to these questions, at least not on network news. Talk about a hot potato!

LOUISIANA

You can't keep a good man down!

Former governor Edwin Edwards is back in the news. The charges this time: fraud in pursuit of a gaming license. His co-defendant—Edward DeBartolo, Jr. owner of the San Francisco 49ers.

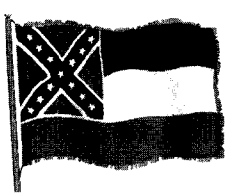
This is the same Edwin Edwards who, after winning reelection, took his highest contributors on a chartered flight to Monte Carlo to play baccarat and chemin de fer.

Governor, we've missed you. Welcome back to *CSA Today*!

MARYLAND

At Bethesda, Maryland, an FDA panel announced the first vaccine against diarrhea. The vaccine is supposed to cut by 80 percent those illnesses caused by the infection called rotavirus—a leading cause of one form of the disease.

Observer say the vaccine was put on the fast track at the request of the Mexican Bureau of Tourism.

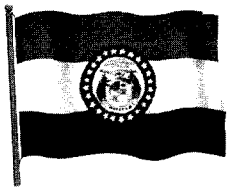


MISSISSIPPI

Bill Coats, a warrior for the Lost Cause and publisher of a facsimile edition of *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, has learned that his volume *Facts the Historians Leave Out* has been banned by the National Park Service and can no longer be carried in the shop at Vicksburg, where it has been selling briskly for the past 15 years. (Though it is available from Southern Partisan (800) 264-2559.)

The reason for this action should be clear from the title of the work: The U.S. government wants to suppress the truth about the history of slavery, the War Between the States and Reconstruction. The same impulse that led totalitarian regimes in Europe to burn books is clearly at work here —the "purification" of history in order to serve the present regime. Even facts must be hidden, lest people begin to think for themselves.

Everyone has the responsibility to protest this use of federal power to impose a favored ideology on an entire nation. Write to Majority Leader Trent Lott, who's supposed to represent the people of Mississippi, and ask him why he hasn't done something.



MISSOURI

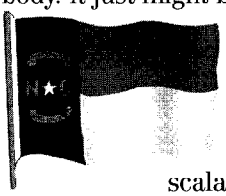
Now that Al Gore's reputation has been tarnished, a new candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination has emerged. According to columnist Robert Novak, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt is traveling around the country, eating tons of chicken and speaking to thousands of hungry Democrats.

A confrontation between Gephardt and Gore in the year 2000 would be the political equivalent of swallowing a whole bottle of Sominex. Each exudes the warmth and spontaneity of a cigar store Indian. The debates would anesthetize millions.

Right now Gore is ahead, but Gephardt holds certain advantages in a two-man race. Because of his successful opposition to Clinton's fast-track trade legislation, the Minority Leader probably has greater support among the rank-and-file of organized labor than does the Vice President, who is associated with the Administration's anti-protectionist trade policy.

And there's the corruption issue, which the media have declared irrelevant but which the people still ponder.

The Democrats have to nominate somebody. It just might be Dick Gephardt.



NORTH CAROLINA

Every so often the scalawags get their comeuppance, even in New South cities like Charlotte.

Parks Helms (not to be confused with Jesse), Democratic chairman of the Mecklenburg County Commission, has made gay rights a political issue in Charlotte, particularly in controversies surrounding arts funding.

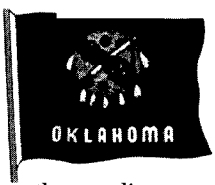
When black Democrat Hoyle Martin voted with four Republicans to ban funding for obscene art, Helms was outraged. The chairman said he would not even vote for worthy arts funding but would settle his score with the "Gang of Five" during the 1998 elections. Shortly thereafter, Helms announced that he would back the candidacy of openly homosexual Andrew Reyes, who said he intended to run on the arts issue.

The press reported that Helms would also be backing another black candidate in the contest for Hoyle Martin's at-large seat, thereby threatening to split the black vote and deny Martin re-election.

For Martin, that was the last straw. He voted with four Republicans to oust Helms as chairman and replace him with Republican Tom Bush.

As for the Reyes candidacy, Martin wrote in an op-ed piece addressed to Helms: "There are some potentially good candidates—black, white and Hispanic—that you, with the probable help of the corporate bullies, have discouraged with your hand-picked gay, rich golden boy."

Note that with Helms and many of the politically correct crowd, homosexuals have higher status than blacks. This attitude may begin to split the Democrats nationwide, as it has in Charlotte.



OKLAHOMA

The bombing trials are over and the nation has what it wants. Even the media gurus, who oppose capital punishment for most murderers, seem to agree that the death penalty is appropriate for anyone who kills that many innocent people.

In the 1960s—when the young terrorists were Black Panthers or members of Students for a Democratic Society—the press was more circumspect and analytical. They viewed the burnings and bombings and killings as the understandable responses of idealistic youth to an evil government. No one has attempted to excuse McVeigh and Nichols.

Neither will we. What they did was inexcusable.

However, some things should be said, and no one else is saying them.

The killing of women and children at Waco and Ruby Ridge was likewise inexcusable—examples of federal power out of control.

In a news conference, Janet Reno accepted full responsibility for the debacle at Waco.

Or did she?

If she truly believed she was responsible for all those deaths, then why didn't she resign? Nobody guilty of such unconscionable misapplication of authority should remain in office. Nobody.

If she *didn't* really believe she was responsible, then her acceptance of blame was mere political posturing, under the circumstances a contemptible gesture.

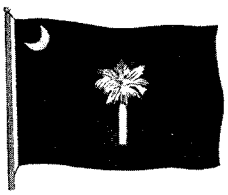
As for Ruby Ridge, the man in charge of that operation was not disciplined but promoted.

At the very least, these killings of innocent Americans by their government were acts of outrageous incompetence and should have been punished swiftly and severely.

The government itself did nothing to make matters right.

McVeigh and Nichols will pay for their crime.

No one has yet paid for Waco and Ruby Ridge.



SOUTH CAROLINA

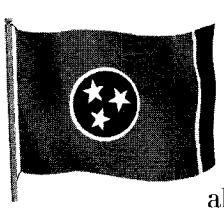
Dan Tripp, state representative from Greenville, has come up with a new scheme to torture the American Civil Liberties Union—the rating of rock concerts and the banning from public property of all offensive performers, particularly those who advocate illegal acts in their lyrics.

"I've got a whole stack of things here with lyrics where groups are advocating killing cops, smoking dope and other illegal activities," Tripp said. "If a band had a history of doing those kinds of things, state facilities would not be allowed to let them perform."

Steve Bates, executive director of the South Carolina ACLU threw a fit when he heard about the proposal, calling it "blatantly unconstitutional." Even if the state just rated the concerts, he said, this would be an abomination.

"That's why we have the Bill of Rights," he said: "to protect us from the whims of momentary popular majorities."

He's right. According to Ben Franklin's account of the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, when Alexander Hamilton asked James Madison why the First Amendment was needed, Madison replied: "Why, sir, to assure that local government never tries to rate Snoop Doggy Dog."



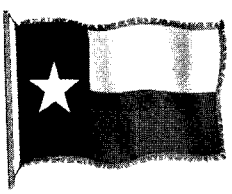
TENNESSSEE

For months, clergy and pro-family organizations have complained about three books by photographer Jock Sturges, albums that contain pictures of naked children—a clear violation of law. Needless to say, the book's apologists have been deeming it a work of art only slightly less praiseworthy than the Sistine Chapel.

All over the country, prosecutors and grand juries have trembled at the very thought of challenging Barnes and Noble, the chief hawkers of these books, despite a Supreme Court ruling that kiddie porn is not protected by the First Amendment. The federal government failed to get an indictment in San Francisco (which is like trying to indict the Pope in Vatican City).

However, courage still persists in some pockets of culture. A grand jury in Franklin, Tennessee handed down a true bill in late November, and it appears as if decent folks will have their day in court.

Meanwhile, child molesters throughout the nation are indignant.

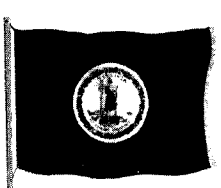


TEXAS

Henry Cisneros, former mayor of San Antonio, is in the trouble pot and it's about to boil over. The FBI is alleging that shortly after he was confirmed as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Cisneros used a long-time political supporter, Morris Jaffe, to funnel large sums of money to an ex-mistress, then lied about it to the Feebies. According to an FBI affidavit, the woman, Linda Medlar, received at least $85,000 to keep her mouth shut.

After an investigation, Cisneros was indicted on charges of conspiracy, obstructing justice and lying.

By the way, Ms. Medlar is again going by her maiden name, which is Jones. (Those Jones girls are sure making things rough for the Clinton Administration.)

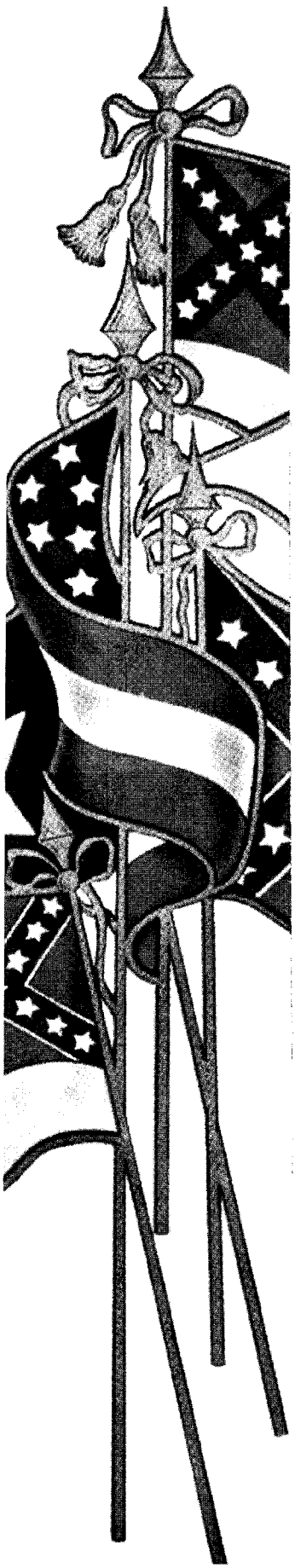


VIRGINIA

Facing a court martial on charges that he sexually harassed six women, Sgt. Major of the Army Gene McKinney told a Fort Belvoir general who questioned him on the matter, "Sir, if I wanted [sex], do you think I would have to go around molesting women?" The general testified that McKinney said he could talk any woman he wanted into bed.

That may be true, Gene, but it ain't the best defense to offer so soon after Tail Hook. Better try remorse.

✪



Why the Agrarians?

BY P. J. BYRNES

Editor's Note: *In order to bring you this special introduction to the work of the Vanderbilt Agrarians, Partisan View and Trivium are pre-empted. Both will return in the First Quarter, 1998 issue.*

Southern Partisan has published a number of essays by and about the Agrarians, 12 Southerners who, in 1930, published *I'll Take My Stand*, a symposium on the economic and social virtues of the region.

The issues they raised—the dangers of industrialization, the advantages of growing up in small Southern communities, the joys of economic independence—have long since been resolved. Their opponents have been victorious. The rural South of the 1930s no longer exists, except along small, untraveled back roads. Farming is dominated by huge corporations such as ADM and Prudential Life. Small Southern towns —cheered on by greedy chambers of commerce—have grown into metropolises (largely because people who live in northern cities are moving South to escape urban blight). The Agrarian philosophy has been consigned to the Dempster-Dumpster of history.

So why devote the major portion of this issue of *Southern Partisan* to their losing battle? Because, out of the ashes of Agrarian thought has risen the foundation of a militant Southern social and political theory, one still in the process of definition. Contemporary apostles of the Agrarians—mindful of the failure of the 1930 symposium— are taking their stand against the growth of federal power, the rise of the New World Order, and the debasement of traditional moral and social values. And they may be winning!

To make the connection between past and present clear, we're dedicating this issue of *Southern Partisan* to an examination of Agrarian thought. The essays included are randomly submitted and randomly chosen. They're intended merely to suggest why these defenders of yet another Lost Cause are our spiritual forefathers— people to whom we owe our continued vitality as a region.

TEN MYTHS ABOUT THE AGRARIANS

A lot of people have written about the Agrarians who've never read *I'll Take My Stand*. Academics are particularly guilty of this deception. That's no surprise. College professors don't have to read. They already know everything worth knowing, and they pass around opinions as cheerfully and irresponsibly as they pass around social diseases.

Here, then, are ten opinions on the Agrarians that are widespread and oft-repeated in scholarly circles—and demonstrably untrue. If someone tells you these things, don't believe them.

1. The Agrarians were "utopians." This description—used by people who admired the Agrarians, as well as by their detractors—reveals a misunderstanding of "utopia." The word is a composite of two Greek words: "ou," meaning "not," and "topos," meaning "a place." Thus a "utopia" is, by definition, nonexistent—an idealized world to which people can only aspire.

I'll Take My Stand is a book about a very real place—the South circa 1930. The Agrarians were describing a world they knew, a world composed of farms, small towns and a few cities. There were imperfections and problems in the South they described. The people were poor. They'd been defeated in a war that many still remembered. And the region was plagued by racial problems. However, the writers of these essays found enough virtue in such a place to defend it against the attacks of the South-baiters. The ideas and feelings they expressed could be found in a sampler on the wall: Home Sweet Home. The world they described was no Utopia.

In a sense, *I'll Take My Stand* was an anti-utopian book, because it challenged the ideology of industrialism as the salvation of the region. Proponents of the New South were forever talking about the coming of better times, when a massive influx of northern industry would create jobs, wealth and security for all—a pie-in-the-sky by and by. In response to this exuberant optimism about an idealized future, the Agrarians said simply: "We'll take what we've got now. Industrialism will cause more problems than it will solve."

2. The Agrarians wanted to "go back to the soil." The Agrarians didn't want to "go back" to anything. They wanted to preserve the balance between agriculture and industry that still existed in the South and in a few other regions of the country.

Their New South critics, particularly in the 1930s, were forever describing them as dreamy idealists who wanted businessmen and factory owners to shut down operations, lock their doors, go buy 40 acres and a mule, and start planting corn, beans and watermelons. The Agrarians never said anything of the sort. As a matter of fact, the "Statement of Principles" acknowledges that some new industry might be desirable for the region.

You might summarize their stance as follows: They didn't want to send city folks back to the farm. They just wanted to make sure the New South social engineers didn't round up all the farmers and herd them into the city.

3. The Agrarians had the Moonlight-and-Magnolias view of the Old South. One of the easiest ways to dismiss the Agrarians is to suggest that they took the view of the Old South embodied in Stephen Foster songs—the vision of white folks living an idyllic life in graceful plantation houses, while happy-go-lucky slaves plunked on banjos and sang polly wolly doodle all day.

With the exception of Stark Young, the contributors to *I'll Take My Stand* had little to say about the Antebellum period. They were interested in the present, and their model was the family farm rather than the plantation. They knew slave owners constituted a small fraction of the population in the Old South and were overly dependent on money crops like cotton, which brought

in the large sums of money necessary to live the lavish life.

The Agrarians typically valued the independence of the family farmers who raised all their food on their own land. That was the chief virtue of an agrarian economy—self-sufficiency and hence a large measure of economic freedom. In an industrial society, if the economy went bad, people literally went without food. During the Great Depression, farmers ate much better than city folks, many of whom were standing in bread lines. That's the kind of self-reliance the Agrarians admired, not the economic dependence of the wealthy planter class.

4. The Agrarians favored a Southern aristocracy. The Agrarians didn't even believe a Southern aristocracy *existed* and said so more than once in *I'll Take My Stand*. In the strictest sense of the word, an "aristocracy" inherits its privileges, along with a title. Rich plantation owners were no more "aristocrats" than were Northern factory owners. They were people whose status depended on the acquisition of wealth. Lose your wealth and you lose your privileges.

Southern planters resembled in some respects the English "gentry"—people who inherited the income from certain lands. In England, the inheritance was passed down to the eldest son. Anyone who inherited such an income was a "gentleman," since he didn't work for a living. Second and third sons could still remain "gentlemen" if they became clergymen or military officers, since both occupations were regarded as "service." But none would be regarded as aristocrats. Thus the Agrarians (with the exception of Stark Young) rejected the notion that Southern slave owners were aristocrats in any meaningful sense. Gentlemen— perhaps, but that's an entirely different matter.

5. The Agrarians knew nothing about farming, since none of them had ever tilled the soil. This statement is absurd—and for three reasons. In the first place, it isn't true.

Several of the Agrarians had working farms at one time or another—Tate and Lytle, for example. Some of the rest grew up in farming families. Robert Penn Warren's brother was a tobacco farmer, and as late as the early 1970s, Warren himself could quote tobacco prices and talk in detail about the problems and rewards of raising tobacco.

In the second place, you don't have to do something yourself in order to understand it. Some of the best sports writers have never played the games they analyze in their reports, and a majority of political commentators have never run for public office. Why should someone have to farm first in order to say it was a good way of life?

Finally, the Agrarians weren't writing tracts on how to till the soil. They were writing about the moral, social and political virtues of the society in which they lived—a society which was still predominantly a farming culture. Educated in history, economics, classics and philosophy, they were better able to discuss the social virtues of a farming society than the county agent.

Besides, in order to see their world clearly, all the Agrarians had to do was look out the window.

6. The Agrarians can't be taken seriously because they didn't understand modern economics. Well, H.C. Nixon was an economist; and he probably understood the larger implications of the book's subject matter less than the non-economists in the group. You can be certain that a majority of the Agrarians had read and understood Adam Smith, Thomas Hobbes and Jeremy Bentham, to name but three philosophers who took up economic questions.

When people raise this criticism, they usual mean that the Agrarians hadn't read Keynes and other collectivist economists of the early 20th century. And, one might add, they hadn't read Friedman, Mises and Hayek. But no one needs to read such economic theorists in order to understand the broader questions that have always preoccupied political philosophers— the nature of the good life, the relationship between a government and its people, and the role of art and religion in society. Aristotle hadn't read Keynes when he wrote his *Politics*, but he still managed to say important things about the nature of society, as did the Agrarians.

7. Agrarianism, like Socialism, is a systematic ideology. In a sense, there's no such thing as "Agrarianism." The word is used once, maybe twice, in *I'll Take My Stand*. As an afterthought, John Crowe Ransom wrote the "The Statement of Principles" which was printed at the head of the essays. This statement was less a hard-and-fast manifesto than a few general observations on a variety of subjects. The group did not sit down together and hammer out a precisely defined dogma. Had they attempted to do so, *I'll Take My Stand* would never have appeared.

8. The Agrarians didn't understand the idea of progress—that industrialism and urbanization were inevitable. As a matter of fact, the Agrarians understood the idea of progress quite well. They just didn't believe in it. And at the close of the 20th century, nobody with any sense believes in it either.

9. Robert Penn Warren's essay was a defense of segregation, which he later recanted in *The Partisan Review*. This essay was not an apology for segregation, though Warren said as much in *The Partisan Review*. He also said he hadn't read the piece since he wrote it decades earlier. Had he re-read his own essay, he probably would have recognized his contribution as a fair-minded and moderate analysis, even by latter-day standards.

10. *I'll Take My Stand* is a relic of the past and therefore of no interest to people today. The book continues to be read and admired. *Mother Jones* has even viewed it favorably in recent years. After almost seven decades, *I'll Take My Stand* is still in print, which is more than you can say for just about any other book published in 1930. ✪

P.J. Byrnes is one of *Southern Partisan's* Associate Editors.

The Agrarians in Retrospect: Southern Tradition and the Modern Age

Fugitives Reunion, 1956. Front Row: Tate, Ransom and Davidson. Middle Row: Starr, Stevenson, Warren. Eliott, Moore, Jesse Wills, and Hirsch are in rear.

BY MARK MALVASI

THE SOUTH AND CAPITALISM

The Southern conservative tradition is the most impressive critique of American national development and of the disquieting aspects of the modern world. Since the antebellum period, Southern thought has boldly challenged the celebration of the free market, of limitless material progress, and of the worldwide advance of capitalism and democracy.

Before the War Between the States, Southern thinkers' denunciation of free society was rooted in the defense of slavery as a social system. Antebellum Southern thinkers agreed with European socialists that the capitalist world was on the threshold of a protracted crisis from which it would not recover. From the perspective of the Southern slaveholders and their spokesmen, slavery alone could ensure progress without the social dislocation, political upheaval, and moral confusion that tormented bourgeois society. For these men and women who took seriously the biblical injunction to be their brothers' keepers, slavery seemed the best means of preserving a Christian social order in the modern world.

After the war, this social, political, and moral vision proved impossible to sustain. Emancipation destroyed the social relations that nurtured the Southern critique of free society and of the free labor system. Yet Southern thinkers since 1865, as before, continued to associate the deepening crisis of the modern world with the steady development of capitalism. During the twentieth century the legatees of this tradition, such as the Southern Agrarians, Richard M. Weaver and M. E. Bradford, have condemned the rise of the profit motive, the savagery of unrestrained commerce, the growing obsession with material acquisition, the separation of the ownership from the control of property, and the destructive exploitation of nature. They have viewed socialism of one form or another as the logical but regrettable outcome of the ascendancy of corporate capitalism and the centralization of the power state.

SOUTHERN CONSERVATISM

Ironically, the recent triumph of conservatism, including what now passes for Southern conservatism, in national politics has been engineered precisely in defense of the free market, the proliferation of consumer goods, the celebration of *laissez faire* capitalism and the profit motive, and the pursuit of what C. B. McPherson identified as *possessive individualism*. Southern politicians might support legislation to impede the ravaging of nature as long as environmental interests do not interfere with making a profit. They are lyrical in their exaltation of multi-national corporations. The recent emergence

of a host of Southerners as leaders in the United States House of Representatives and the Senate does not promise a resurgence of the Southern conservative tradition any more than did the election of Ronald Reagan.

Those who now identify themselves as "Southern conservatives" remain conservative on certain cultural and social questions: gay rights, feminism, abortion, crime, immigration, welfare reform, family values and similar issues. Philosophically, though, they are far removed from anything that resembles traditional Southern conservatism. In one sense they are right-wing liberals who have departed from the historic conservatism of antebellum and twentieth-century Southern thinkers.

These new Southern conservatives espouse an optimistic view of human nature and emphasize human goodness and benevolence at the expense of the older Christian doctrine of human sinfulness. They continue to believe, with a naive faith that is almost touching, in the inevitability of progress and in the efficacy of technology. In fact, Newt Gingrich is a disciple of the futurist Alvin Toffler and grows vertiginous in the presence of the technological gadgetry that he contends will at last not only improve but perfect society and the human race. Traditional Southern conservatives would have been quick to identify and condemn his attitude as one more manifestation of the vain, false, sinful and ultimately destructive desire to overcome the human condition in an effort to fashion a heaven on earth.

Politically, too, the call for restrictions on federal power and the restoration of state rights notwithstanding, these politicians are not conservative in the traditional sense at all. They combine elements of a reactionary populism and a radical nationalism that repudiates the brand of conservatism that has long appealed to Southern thinkers. This odd conjunction reveals how easily radicalism and conservatism have come to coexist in the same movement and even in the same mind. As populists and nationalists, these politicians profess to put America first, and occasionally show sympathy for ordinary citizens in their struggle against a federal government that would oppress them with unresponsive bureaucracies, arcane regulations, and high taxes.

But as populists and nationalists, they also, in their quest for power, do not recoil from appealing to the worst fears, prejudices and hatreds of the American people. In the end, they do not actually want to limit the power of the national government. It is, after all, so-called conservatives who have advocated massive defense spending, promoted huge military bureaucracies, strengthened the police state, and burdened the American people for generations with "progressive" tax policies and the financial bailout of various corporations and banks.

Finally, in their views on foreign policy, Gingrich and company can hardly call themselves conservatives. They are, instead, revolutionaries of a sort, still intent on realizing their version of Woodrow Wilson's internationalist vision to remake the world in the American image. Their populism and nationalism have not bred in them isolationist sentiments. With few reservations, they are committed to the intervention of the United States everywhere around the world–and are devoted to the idea of American domination of the world–in the interest of advancing capitalism and democracy. It is an empire that they seek, not a republic that they wish to preserve.

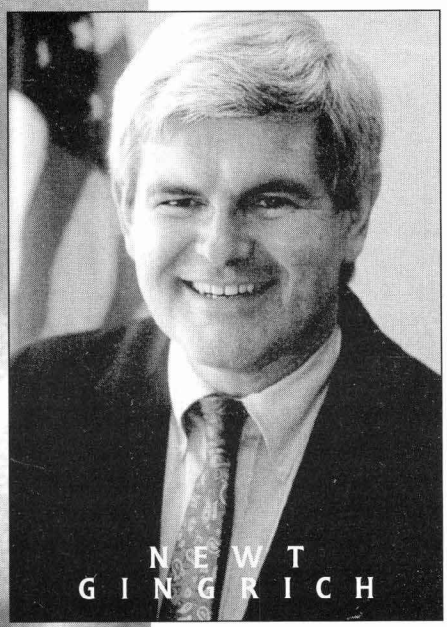
RICHARD WEAVER

The defection of Southern politicians from traditional Southern conservatism both reflects and effects its rejection among ordinary Southerners, who now embrace the prevailing conservative agenda almost without question. There are, in fairness, few alternatives available to them. Twentieth-century Southern conservatives, like the Southern Agrarians and their successors, have so far proven unable to craft and sustain a mass political following among their own people.

AGRARIANISM VS. MODERNISM

The inability to exercise much political influence has hampered but not paralyzed the Southern conservative movement. Since the late 1920s, the Agrarians and their successors have undertaken to reinterpret Southern history, to reexamine the Southern tradition, and to defend Southern values when many Americans dismissed the South as a bastion of ignorance and a citadel of reaction. Their efforts have produced astonishingly original contributions to American social, cultural, political and economic discourse–contributions that, nevertheless, remain incomplete and problematic.

Among the first and most gifted proponents of the Southern cause in the twentieth century were John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate and Donald Davidson, who stood at the center of the Southern Agrarian movement and of the Southern Literary Renascence. Ransom, Tate and Davidson saw the

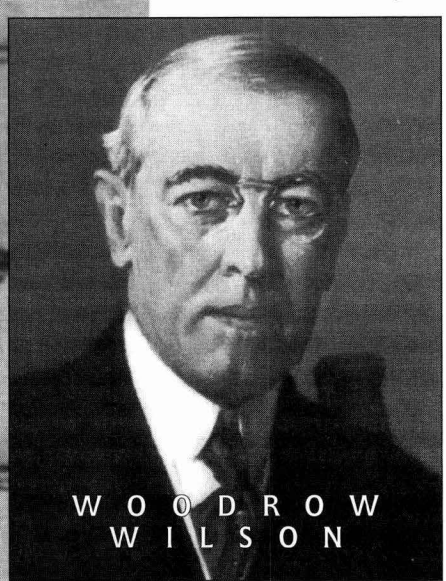


NEWT GINGRICH

vast economic, political, social and technological changes sweeping the modern world as detrimental not only to the regional integrity of the South but also to the future of civilization in the West. The Agrarian credo called for measures that "might promise to stop the advances of industrialism, or even undo some." If they could not prevent the defection of an entire generation of Southerners to the "American industrial ideal," the Agrarians argued that the South would become an undifferentiated replica of the filthy industrial cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. **The Southern Agrarians believed that the South stood or fell upon Southerners' willingness to resist the encroachments of industrialism and the allure of the market. They held little hope for survival of the Southern tradition in a world governed by industrial councils and chambers of commerce.**

Ransom, Tate, Davidson and their compatriots refused to divest themselves of their cultural heritage, to define the Southern tradition with reference to its defects, or to conform to the dictates of modernity. The South, they asserted, was not a moral abomination among the nations of the earth. Old-fashioned, home-made, long discredited Southern ways might yet halt the threatened emergence of a new barbarism.

For the Agrarians, the Southern tradition, even in defeat--perhaps especially in defeat--counseled restraint and humility before nature and God.



WOODROW WILSON

Southern history, as the Agrarians' interpreted it, represented a moral alternative to the national myths of innocence, omnipotence and invincibility. They exalted the mystery and contingency of life and admonished men and women to accept the conditions and limitations that God had imposed upon them. They denounced all schemes to liberate human beings from history, society, family and self, and to remake them into "New Men" and "New Women" poised to enter a perfectly engineered earthly paradise. By contrast, they emphasized the experience of the South to expose the reality of sinfulness, depravity, evil and tragedy in all human affairs amid the growing conviction of American purity, righteousness and power that characterized the 1920s.

Disparaging the American legend of unimpeded success, progress and happiness, the Agrarians tried to dispel the illusion that virtue, morality, rectitude, and honor were confined within regional boundaries or national borders. Southerners, the Agrarians recognized, knew defeat intimately. They had witnessed the destruction of their world and, almost alone among citizens of the United States, understood what it meant to lose all that they cherished. Southerners had placed their faith in history, and, in 1865, history had disappointed them.

The Agrarians thus cautioned the victors not to revel too heartily in the defeat of their enemies, for they could be next. There was no guarantee of ultimate triumph, no assurance of inevitable victory, no matter how deep the conviction of righteousness. The abyss of history, Tate warned, was large enough for all.

THE AGRARIANS' SOUTH

But Ransom, Tate and Davidson did not revel in the defeat of the South or celebrate the "Lost Cause." To fashion an image of the South as the good society, which could provide a moral if not always a concrete social and political alternative to the modern world, they set out to discredit the romantic vision of the Old South that emerged with emancipation and defeat. In broad outline the particulars of this romantic fantasy are familiar: the fragile Southern belle dressed in a hoopskirt emerging onto the veranda of the big house, her beguiling face partially concealed behind a Japanese fan; the breathtakingly handsome cavalier skilled in politics, dueling, warfare and horsemanship, pledging all in defense of honor and country; the happy darky, undyingly loyal to master and mistress, content to live out his days on the old home place as their servant. The creation of the romantic Old South by the generation who survived the Civil War was one Southern response to the frustration, anger, shame, insecurity and fear that arose from defeat.

Fifty years later, Ransom, Tate and Davidson explicitly rejected the portrait of the Old South as the land of moonlight and magnolias. They renewed the attack of antebellum Southern thinkers on the destructive power of capitalism and on the perils of unfettered individualism. They struggled to recover the complex history of the South that the postbellum generation of Southern writers and thinkers had sentimentalized, distorted or repressed. The Agrarians

sought to use the history of the antebellum South not to console a people anguished by military defeat, economic collapse, political tumult and social discord. They hoped instead to find in that history a vision of order that would enable them to resist the chaos of the modern age.

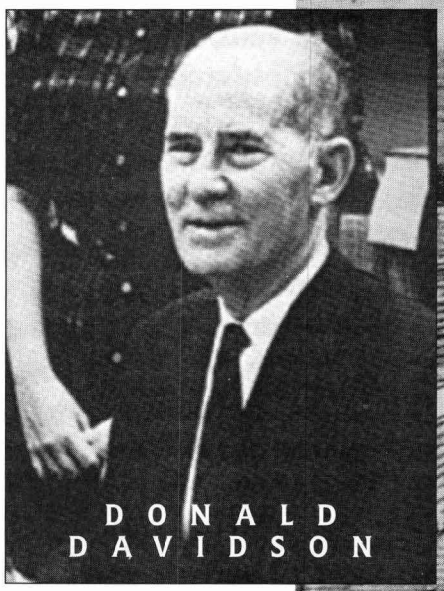
Nevertheless, when the Agrarians took their stand in 1930, portions of the South remained relatively untouched by science, capitalism and individualism, the solvent forces of modernity. The Agrarians' original objective was not only to perpetuate and revitalize the Southern tradition but to forge it into a weapon with which to combat the absurdity and meaninglessness of a faithless world.

In practical terms, of course, they failed. They never organized an Agrarian political party or even secured control of a wing of the Democratic party, as Ransom once suggested they try to do. The Agrarians, like later generations of Southern conservative thinkers, encountered huge difficulties in organizing a mass political movement. Frequently, they also came close to making themselves look foolish by appearing to be the enemies of science, industry and, indeed, of reason itself.

The Agrarians, though, never intended politics to define their undertaking. Their principal concern was with the spiritual condition of man in the modern world. Nor did they mindlessly repudiate reason, science, or even industry. Rather, they questioned the messianic cults of rationalism, scientism, and industrialism. The essence of Agrarian thought thus lies in its persuasive challenge to the assumption that heaven can be established on earth. The Agrarians forcefully exposed the treachery, persecution, violence, and tyranny that informed the millennial ambitions of modern man. Modern men, the Agrarians recognized, claimed for themselves a knowledge, and thus a power, to which they had neither right nor entitlement. Ransom, Tate, Davidson, and their colleagues knew where such declarations would lead.

THE TIMELESS AGRARIANS

Their analyses read like a summary of the contemporary predicament. They anticipated the rejection of Christian pessimism and the acceptance of the idea that human nature is innately good or at least is a "blank slate" upon which social scientists and behavioral therapists can inscribe an appropriate personality. They foresaw the decline in education, so that today American schools, colleges, and universities are at best intellectual factories to prepare students to produce and consume a dizzying array of goods and services. They predicted the degradation of nature and the degeneration of freedom into license and knew the calamity that the autonomous self could visit on the rest of humanity when liberated from a sense of responsibility to society, to nature, and to God.

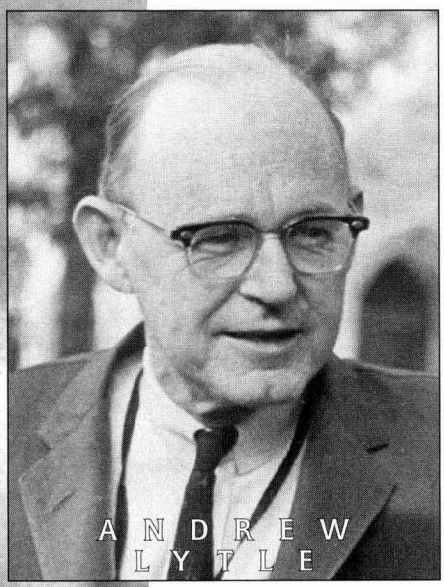

DONALD DAVIDSON

Although the basis of the Southern tradition proved more elusive than Ransom, Tate, and Davidson imagined during the 1920s and 1930s, they nonetheless regarded preserving it as the best way to save the rudiments of Christian civilization in the West. They defined the nature of that civilization as the continual struggle for discipline, self-control, and order against latitude, excess, and chaos.

The Agrarians and their successors defended the traditions not merely of the South but of Western Civilization. Failure in their eyes meant the lurch toward a new, scientific, technological, and pagan "Dark Age" that marked the descent into decadence and barbarism. They recognized near the beginning of the twentieth century two problems that have become obvious near its end. First, they decried the mounting pressure for economic growth and material prosperity even at the cost of political stability, social order, and nature. Second, they denounced the resurgence of nationalism that, like capitalism, threatened to undo established social and political arrangements and, perhaps, to destroy civilization itself. They believed that nationalism had animated Northern society during the Civil War, and observed more sinister manifestations of the same phenomenon in Fascist Italy, Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany.

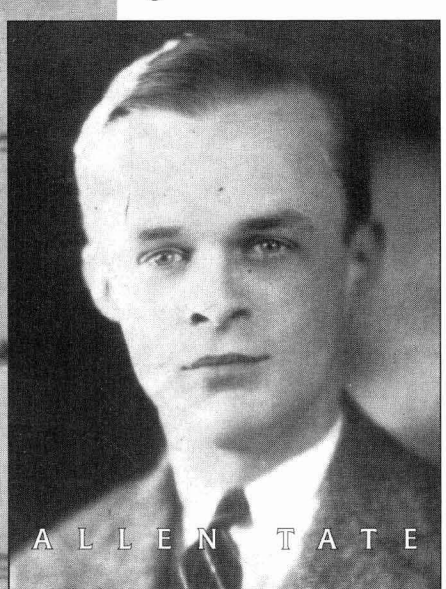
AGRARIAN SPIRITUAL LESSONS

Those who have assumed the leadership of the conservative movement in our own day, at least in the public arena, have squandered or ignored most of the Agrarians' penetrating insights and biting critique. The political conservatives who formed the core of the Reagan coalition--a coalition into which Southern conservatives like Bradford fit awkwardly at best--embraced acquisitiveness as the key to affluence, applauded self-indulgence as the reward of success, and worshiped money as the source from which all goodness flows. More perilously, they assumed that progress resulted from the victory of wealth over violence, and that the international triumph of democratic capitalism would thus solve most of the world's problems. They were wrong on both counts.


ANDREW LYTLE

The Agrarians' dark pronouncements about the fate of the Republic at the hands of entrenched bureaucrats, untrustworthy politicians, greedy capitalists, and corrupt citizens have come true with a vengeance. The callousness of a government no longer responsive to the needs of its people; the irresponsibility of business in pursuit of unexampled profits; the intensifying racial antagonisms; the mounting violence in the streets and in the home; the widening gulf between vast private fortunes and unrelenting public squalor are only symptomatic of the deeper spiritual crisis of a people and a nation cast adrift from their historical moorings. Under the conditions that now increasingly prevail in the United States, other peoples at other times have looked to a dictator to solve their problems and end their misery.

At the end of the twentieth century, we endure the consequences of a total emancipation from the Christian heritage. We have at last achieved the "rights of man." Two centuries of technological progress have brought us access to such a quantity and quality of goods and services that we enjoy a level of material comfort and security inconceivable only a few generations ago. Yet we now also believe that luxury, leisure, and unlimited freedom in the selection of pleasures are the epitome of the good life.


ALLEN TATE

The assumption that modern man has achieved a spiritual emancipation that rendered the ancient restraints and taboos unnecessary troubled those who inherited the Southern tradition. The erosion of our political culture was, from their perspective, only one more indication of spiritual decline: the growing inability of men and women, as Richard Weaver suggested, to distinguish better from worse, right from wrong, or to meet the challenges of their world.

But no Southern conservative thinker ever suggested that the political and spiritual crisis of the modern age was inevitable, the consequence of fate or necessity rather than of imprudent choices and evil decisions. Ideas, as Weaver wrote, have consequences. Men and women were not wholly the victims of nature and history. They had at least a hand in making the future.

The Agrarians, Weaver, and Bradford, knew that those who had inherited Western civilization faced a momentous choice. It was preeminently a moral, not a political, choice. The men and women of the modern world had to choose between barbarism and civilization. They had to decide if they wished to live and, if they did, whether they wished to live as men and women, as human beings, in civilized communities, or, to use Weaver's striking image, as rats huddled in the doorways of darkened buildings amid the rubble of wrecked cities.

To reverse what Weaver called "the splendid efflorescence of decay," all Americans may wish to consider the neglected history and the forgotten traditions of the South. That history and those traditions will not enable us to unravel the eternal mysteries of nature or even to resolve the predicaments of the moment. We may, in the end, reject the specific assumptions, judgments, and recommendations that the Agrarians and their heirs presented. But the history and traditions of the South, however troubled they have been, will doubtless provide a fuller understanding of the human condition, and thus better enable us to face the future with intelligence, wisdom, and humility.

Ransom, Tate, Davidson, Weaver, Bradford, and the tradition that they honored, stood against the notion that the pursuit of power and prosperity ought to be the sole, or even the principal, aim of life. They set themselves at odds with the champions of that kind of progress and endorsed the "*last non-materialist civilization in the Western World.*" As one not Southern by birth or conservative by conviction, I have come to admire their deep reverence for, and their brave devotion to, the South. In the end, history may prove them to have been more right than wrong, for the celebrated achievements of science and technology and the apparent triumph of democracy and individualism will not redeem the enormities of the twentieth century. ✪

Mark G. Malvasi teaches history at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, Virginia. This essay is excerpted from his book The Unregenerate South: The Agrarian Thought of John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, and Donald Davidson published in November, 1997 by Louisiana State University Press.

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

"In the introduction to *a Treasury of Civil War Tales,* I wrote, 'This volume does not begin to exhaust the rich lode of Civil War material available.' The same is true of the present volume. Hopefully, though, *Civil War Trivia* will prove to be an enjoyable challenge to every student of this most unusual of wars, the ramifications of which continue to our own time."

***—Webb Garrison in the introduction to* Civil War Trivia**

FAMOUS FIRSTS

1. From what point was the first shot fired against Fort Sumter?
2. As postwar president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia, Robert E. Lee created the nation's first departments in what to curricula fields?
3. What Indian tribe was the first to declare its loyalty to the C.S.A.?
4. What clash of at least 100,000 men is often termed "the first great modern battle"?
5. When did the C.S.A. enact its first national conscription law?
6. What Federal officer was the first to be arrested and imprisoned on order of the committee on the Conduct of the War?
7. Crewmen of what ship were the first considered to be guilty of piracy?
8. After the war, what was the first state to be readmitted into the Union?
9. What civilian did Confederates regard as the "first martyr of the war"?
10. Who improvised the first long-range railway gun, mounted on a railway truck?
11. What Confederate is widely believed to have been the first officer killed in battle?
12. What area was included in Department No. 1, C.S.A., in the spring of 1861?

ANSWERS

1. From a battery on James Island
2. Journalism and commerce
3. The Choctaws, who passed such a resolution on February 7, 1861
4. Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862
5. April 16, 1862
6. Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, who never was informed of the charges that had been leveled against him
7. The Confederate privateer *Savannah*
8. Tennessee, July 24, 1866
9. James T. Jackson, who killed Col. Ephraim E. Ellsworth (11th N.Y.) immediately thereafter killed by one of Ellsworth's men.
10. Robert E. Lee, June 1862
11. Col. Francis S. Bartow, Eighth Georgia, July 21, 1861
12. Most of Louisiana and parts of Alabama and Mississippi

***Webb Garrison** is a veteran writer who lives in Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. Formerly associate dean of Emory University and president of McKenree College, he has written 40 books, including* A Treasury of White House Tales, *and* A Treasury of Christmas Stories. Civil War Trivia and Fact Book, *©1992 by Webb Garrison and reprinted by permission of Rutledge Hill Press, Nashville, Tennessee.*

SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOFF

ON EQUALITY

"The propaganda of egalitarianism encourages belief that any society embodying distinctions must necessarily be torn with envy and hatred." *—Richard M. Weaver*

ON POWER

"From the nature of man, we may be sure that those who have power in their hands...will always, when they can...increase it." *—George Mason*

ON CHECKS AND BALANCES

"To the Government of the United States has been entrusted the exclusive management of our foreign affairs. Beyond that it wields a few general enumerated powers. It does not force reform on the States." *—President James K. Polk*

ON THE PUBLIC DEBT

"In all public expenditures the most rigid economy should be resorted to, and, as one of its results, a public debt in time of peace should be sedulously avoided. *—President John Tyler*

ON UNION MAJ. GEN. BENJAMIN "BEAST" BUTLER

"I Therefore pronounced and declared the said Butler a felon, deserving capital punishment, and ordered that he be no longer considered and treated as a public enemy of the Confederate States, but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind; and that in the event of his capture, the officer in command should cause him to be immediately executed by hanging." *—President Jefferson Davis*

PULASKI'S AGRARIAN PLAQUE

BY WILLIAM PRATT

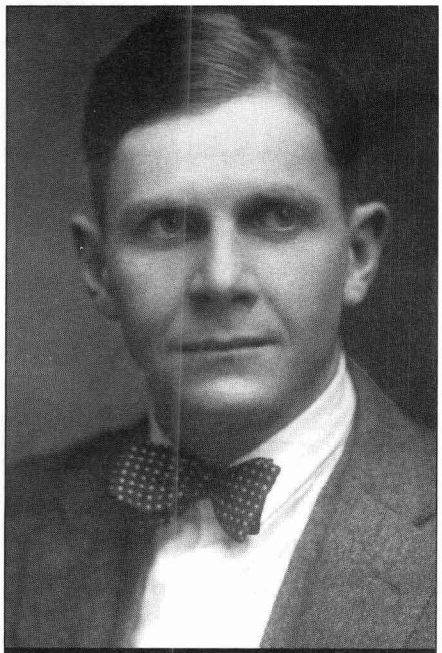
Thanks to Tennessee Rep. Joe Fowlkes, there is a new plaque in the courthouse square in Pulaski, Tennessee. The plaque honors two poets who were native sons of Giles County: John Crowe Ransom, born in 1888 in Pulaski, and Donald Davidson, born in 1893 in the nearby village of Campbellsville. The plaque appropriately stands on the *south* side of the Giles County Courthouse near an effigy of Sam Davis, the Confederate martyr who has long been a hero to the town.

If you've never been to Pulaski, the Chancery Court of the Giles County Courthouse is a building worth going there to see. A large foursquare brick edifice with a tall white cupola, it is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. It is there that the people of Giles County have chosen to honor themselves by honoring John Crowe Ransom and Donald Davidson.

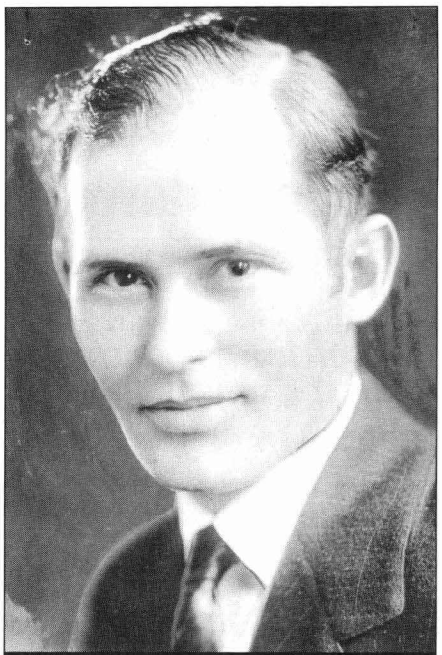
Though they didn't meet in childhood but later as young men at Vanderbilt University where their lives and careers converged, the two writers belong together, because both were born in the vicinity. Ransom and Davidson were more than just local boys who made good: they were Giles county native sons who rose to become two of the major American writers of the twentieth century.

It should be understood however that John Crowe Ransom and Donald Davidson were broadly American, not narrowly Southern, writers. Because, like Robert Frost in New England and Robinson Jeffers in California, Ransom and Davidson made a *regional* viewpoint the basis for expressing *universal* truths. The two men, as leaders of the group of poets known as the Fugitives, published a magazine in the 1920s which started what is today called the Southern Literacy Renascence. To them, poetry was

William Pratt (fourth from right), pulls a Tennessee state flag off a historical marker honoring Donald Davidson and John Crowe Ransom. Descendants of Davidson from Giles County and nearby areas who gathered for the unveiling include: (from left) John Kirkpatrick, James Kirkpatrick, Theresa Sullivan, Molly Kirkpatrick, John Kiser and Mary Ellen Christopher.



JOHN CROWE RANSOM



DONALD DAVIDSON

the most lasting form of literature, and Ransom and Davidson can be placed among those rare writers who contributed significantly to the greatness of the age in which they lived, earning international fame through their writing.

As for the facts about them, John Crowe Ransom was born in Pulaski on April 30, 1888, the son of a Methodist minister who was a missionary to Brazil and Cuba. When he was quite young, the family moved to Nashville, where Ransom grew up and proved himself a brilliant student. He finished first in his class at Bowen School, first in his class again at Vanderbilt University where he earned the Founder's Medal in 1909, then won a Rhodes Scholarship which allowed him to complete the Latin and Greek studies he had begun in Tennessee with the Classical Greats course at Oxford University. After a distinguished career at Vanderbilt, Ransom was invited to move to Kenyon College in Ohio where he founded *The Kenyon Review*, a literary magazine which became even better known than *The Fugitive*. Ransom promoted, after the Fugitives and Agrarians, a third literary movement known as the New Criticism.

Donald Grady Davidson (who later dropped his middle name) was born in the village of Campbellsville, Tennessee, on August 18, 1893, and grew up in the nearby town of Lynville, where his father was a school teacher. Davidson was of pioneer stock, for his great-great-grandfather, Andrew Davidson, was one of the early settlers in Bedford County, Tennessee, foreshadowing Davidson's later identification as one of the Agrarian writers. Davidson learned his Latin and Greek at Branham and Hughes preparatory school in Spring Hill, which meant that both Ransom and Davidson benefitted from the sort of classical education common a century ago but very uncommon now. The two young men met at Vanderbilt in 1914, and both taught English there before and after they became the founders of the *Fugitive* magazine, contributing their poems and serving as its chief editors from 1922-25.

The Fugitives had started as an informal discussion group, meeting in the home of a Nashville businessman on Whitland Avenue in West Nashville that is today marked by another historic plaque honoring all sixteen of the original Fugitives. One of Ransom's poems, and my favorite Fugitive poem, is "Bells for John Whiteside's Daughter," it might well have been set in Pulaski.

The newest Fugitive publication is Donald Davidson's *The Big Ballad Jamboree*, a novel which had lain for almost forty years in a box in his daughter's garage, until my letter inquiring about it prompted her daughter, Molly Kirkpatrick, to locate the complete text of the novel. Published recently by the University Press of Mississippi, *The Big Ballad Jamboree* was favorably reviewed in the *New York Times Book Review* and then twice in *The Sewanee Review*. It has already established itself as a Southern classic, to be placed beside other Fugitive novels such as Allen Tate's *The Fathers*, Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*, and Andrew Lytle's *The Velvet Horn*. *Big Ballad* turns out to be a rustic comedy, surprising those who knew Davidson as the dour Fugitive poet, Agrarian essayist, textbook author, historian of the Tennessee River, and the Professor of English at Vanderbilt.

If there were ever a right time for reading all the works of John Crowe Ransom and Donald Davidson, that time is now. Ransom's *The New Criticism*, his *Selected Letters*, and his *Selected Poems* are still in print, and so are Davidson's *The Big Ballad Jamboree*, *The Attack on Leviathan*, and *The Tennessee*, with words from the last engraved on the new Bicentennial Fountain below the Old Capitol in Nashville. Their chief claim to fame remains their poetry, a selection of which can be found in *The Fugitive Poets*. Both writers deserve to be read much more widely, and the new plaque in Pulaski may bring further generations of readers to discover two writers who lasting memorial is always going to be the words they have written. ✪

William Pratt is a Professor in the Department of English at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.
Southern Partisan *would also like to thank Robert Alpert of Boston College for his assistance with this story. The photograph is courtesy of Paul Manke of the* Pulaski Citizen *newspaper.*

New Books on the Agrarians

Warren's Revenge

BY JOE SCOTCHIE

A REVIEW OF:

Cleanth Brooks and The Rise of Modern Criticism.

by Mark Royden Winchell
Virginia, 1996, 510 pages, $34.95.

AND

Robert Penn Warren: A Biography

by Joseph Blotner
Random House, 1997, 585 pages, $35.00.

Many decades ago, on the Louisiana State University campus, Robert Penn Warren and Cleanth Brooks made an unlikely duo. A student fondly described the "appearance of the two men, absorbed in earnest conversation, hurriedly crossing the broad lawn from a classroom building to *The Southern Review* office, Brooks having to trot to keep up with Warren's long jerky stride."

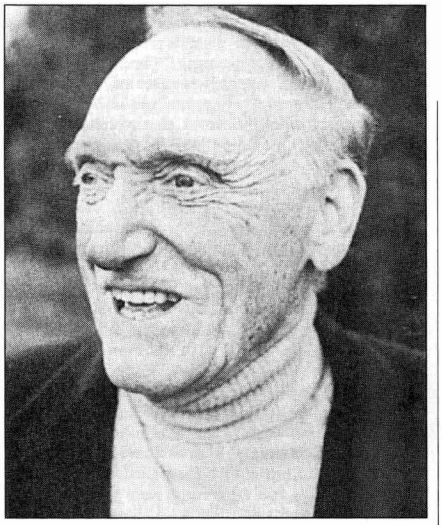
Little did the LSU authorities know it, but these two Kentuckians had already sparked a healthy revival in American letters. Established in 1935, *The Southern Review*, edited by Brooks and Warren, was quickly recognized as one of the preeminent literary journals in the English-speaking world. The two followed that up with the 1938 publication of *Understanding Poetry*, which became the most influential college English textbook of the century.

The good times at LSU, however, didn't last. In the early 1940s, the university, facing a financial crisis, had to choose between *The Southern Review* and the school's popular football mascot Mike the Tiger. The tiger made the cut, *The Southern Review* was disbanded (it would be revived in 1964) and the two co-editors went North, both eventually being reunited at Yale University, where their literary careers continued to flourish. Now both Brooks and Warren are subjects of full-length biographies that allow us to once again contemplate the enormity of the Southern Renaissance.

Robert Penn Warren was the most famous—and most prolific—of the Vanderbilt Agrarians. His 1946 novel, *All The King's Men*, has long been universally hailed as the definitive political novel in American literature. His later poetry brought him well-deserved comparisons to Yeats and Hardy. Warren was the only American to win the Pulitzer Prize for both poetry and fiction. In all, Warren, along with Eudora Welty, are the two greatest 20th century American writers never to win the Nobel Prize. (William Faulkner won the Nobel in 1950; perhaps that fulfilled the "Southern" quota.)

Joseph Blotner's biography is comprehensive enough, but Mark Royden Winchell's study of Cleanth Brooks is a more satisfying book. It is not just a fine biography, but also a dramatic rendering of 20th century American literary history. There are, for instance, brief but fascinating snapshots of the august circle both Brooks and Warren traveled in, including such giants as Eliot, John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Thomas Wolfe, Donald Davidson, Robert Frost, William Faulkner, Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, Richard Weaver, Ralph Ellison, Andrew Lytle, Caroline Gordon, John Gould Fletcher, Louis Rubin and Albert Erskine.

Simply put, the purpose of the New Criticism was to make literature as accessible to farm boys at LSU as it was the sons of the East Coast elite who attended Yale and Harvard. The genre hit its peak with Brooks's several first-rate studies of William Faulkner. The burden of Southern history certainly inspired Faulkner's great Yoknapatawpha saga. But novels like *The Sound and The Fury*, *Absalom, Absalom*! and *Light In August* are enduring also because they hammered home eternal truths to modern-day readers.



Robert Penn Warren

Faulkner, Brooks noted, did not live in a "post-Christian world." The product of a traditional society, Faulkner "believed instinctively" in original sin and thus was able to "recognize evil in the world." For Brooks, the supposed "cultural backwardness" of the South (i.e., its fundamentalist Christianity) was a great advantage for Faulkner and other creative artists of the Southern Renaissance.

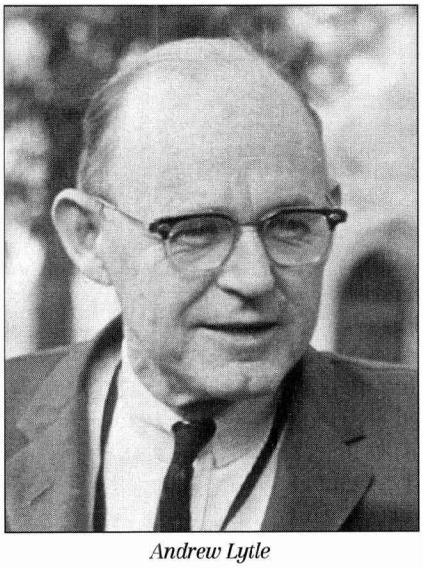
While the Agrarian movement never had any real political influence, the New Criticism, with the help of Ransom's *Kenyon Review* and first Tate and later Lytle editing *The Sewanee Review*, pretty much ruled the roost at English departments on both sides of the Atlantic. That these proud sons of the Confederacy would so thoroughly dominate American letters had to gall the Ivy League elite. Worst of all, the New Criticism did not exist to advance the cause of American liberalism. Instead it concentrated on the text. The real importance of literature—namely, its study of man's dual nature, but also the idea that good literature represented "supreme knowledge" of the human experience—was emphasized. Ironically, both Brooks and Warren were, by our standards, moderate liberals (according to Winchell, Brooks "enthusiastically" voted for Bill

Clinton in 1992). By the 1940s, the New Criticism supplanted the Marxists who had badly politicized the literature of the 1930s. Every great American writer, it seemed, had to be a Communist sympathizer. Even unsuspecting types like Thomas Wolfe were recruited to write for leftist publications, but the North Carolinian refused to fall for the bait.

And so, a counterattack against the New Criticism was inevitable. Unfortunately, it was wholly unintelligible. In the dreary 1960s, deconstructionists and other moral relativists landed on the scene. The politicization of English departments came back with a vengeance bringing with it all-too-predictable results. Literature was out. Propaganda was in. Warren complained about a Yale seminar that "consisted only of reading contemporary pornography." And that was only the tip of the iceberg. Liberal art universities had begun the long downhill slide to today's mindless, anti-Western multiculturalism.

By the early 1970s, Brooks was considered a hopeless reactionary by smart-alecky Yale kids who, naturally enough, already held the usual prejudices about the South. Behind his back graduate students like to joke that it was time "to get a shovel and bury Cleanth Brooks."

The Yalies even began to hold Warren in the same unflattering light. But Red got his little revenge: Addressing a graduate school seminar, he asked his students if they could memorize a poem. No, they could not. Well, could they tell the plot of a short story. No go there, either. Warren then personally asked each of the students if they could recite a poem. Again, nothing. With that, Warren walked out of the classroom and never taught at Yale again.



Andrew Lytle

Winchell believes the tide is turning; the deconstructionists are in retreat, a traditional method of reading and teaching literature is returning to the university. Perhaps so. Current controversies aside, Winchell's wide-ranging biography amply illustrates the drama of being a Southern writer in a hostile world.

Donald, Danny and Cissy

BY JOE SCOTCHIE

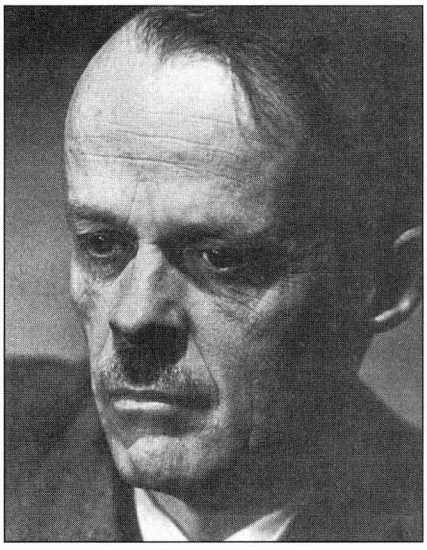
A REVIEW OF:
The Big Ballad Jamboree

by Donald Davidson
Mississippi, 1997, 295 pages, $27.

The dead are always with us, as Andrew Lytle liked to observe. And so in 1996, the University of Mississippi Press, proving Lytle correct, published a novel—the only one—by that enduring voice of Southern traditionalism, Donald Davidson.

The Big Ballad Jamboree was written in the late 1940s. Unable to land a publisher, Davidson laid the novel aside for other projects. At the time of his death in 1968, no known final draft existed. But family members recently unearthed a completed draft and now Davidson's readers can enjoy the author's talents in a new light. Fugitive poet, Agrarian essayist, historian polemicist and legendary teacher, Donald Davidson reveals a different side in *The Big Ballad Jamboree*—that of a comic novelist capable of creating a beguiling portrait of Appalachian culture.

Set in Western North Carolina during the late 1940s, *Big Ballad Jamboree* is a fairly innocent novel



Allan Tate

about an infinitely more innocent era. Danny MacGregor is an up-and-coming star in a hillbilly music band that tours the region and makes side money doing radio commercials. Cissy Timberlake, Danny's on-again, off-again girlfriend, has returned from graduate school in New York to complete her doctoral dissertation. Scouring the hills, she hopes to publish a collection of old Scotch-Irish ballads.

As one might expect, the conflict between modernity and the region's folk culture forms the novel's main theme. The battle is laden with heavy symbolism and tell-tale vignettes. The Civil War, for instance, is referred to by the locals as "the Confederate War." (When was the last time you heard that?) While Cissy's family, like most of the natives, has left the countryside for the factories, Danny hopes to buy his family's old homestead and restore the place. (As always, Davidson's agrarianism remains rock solid.) At Cissy's college, a student ruefully speculates the day is coming when the school will "bring in some Yankee profs to teach the coeds the psychology of sex and not [to] be all repressed and inhibited."

Cissy believes ballads represent the true mountain music; she frowns on Danny's reliance on the more commercialized hillbilly style. A local promoter, on the other hand, worries how the country music culture—ballad and hillbilly—can survive the onslaught of jazz and rock n' roll from

JEFF CARR

Robert Penn Warren, Andrew Lytle, Lyle Lanier and Cleanth Brooks at Vanderbilt in 1980.

big money New York music moguls. It's the post-war era, radio is riding high and television is around the corner. There's money to be made from country music. The genre can hardly surrender the field to less strenuous forms of popular culture. Meanwhile, Danny and Cissy have to put up with a phony music professor who wants to steal the song writing credits from unsuspecting composers.

Happily, an outlet existed that might "put this old country music and new country music together" and allow Danny and Cissy to play "our own songs—[for] our own folks." During the 1940s, Davidson enjoyed attending performances at the Ryman Auditorium in downtown Nashville. The Grand Old Opry was not an example of commercialism run amok. Davidson correctly saw that traditional culture could survive, even flourish in this jealously-run institution.

In the novel, Danny's band, the "Turkey Hollow Boys" (reminiscent of Roy Acuff's "Smokey Mountain Boys") gets a chance to play the Opry—a commercial success that also guaranteed artistic integrity. Cissy likes this turn of events, too. Danny for his part is never jealous of Cissy's rise in academia. Instead, he's mostly curious, even sitting in on her classes. Everything turns out fine in the end, both career and romance-wise. Danny gets the old homeplace back, Cissy is offered a handsome teaching job, and the couple is reunited for good.

No first novel is ever perfect, but *The Ballad Jamboree* represents an important addition to the Davidson canon. In his poetry, essays, and history of the Tennessee River, Davidson always stuck to certain themes: the preference for rural life over urban culture, opposition to rampant industrialism, and a rousing defense of the nation's rich and varied regional cultures. *The Big Ballad Jamboree* drives home the same themes, only in a different and in this case, more colorful genre. There's something to be said for an artist who takes an uncompromising (and usually thankless) stand over a 40-year publishing history. But it's also why Davidson will be remembered as the quintessential Southern writer of the 20th century.

Red's Remembrance

BY WILLIAM J. WATKINS, JR.

ANOTHER REVIEW OF:
Robert Penn Warren: A Biography

by Joseph Blotner
Random House, 1997, 618 pages, $35.

Robert Penn Warren was early on the national literary scene. At the age of 24 he published his first book, *John Brown: The Making of a Martyr*. H.L. Mencken described the young man's work as one of the ten best of 1929. From such a promising beginning, Warren went on to earn virtually every major award and honor for American literature including Pulitzer Prizes for his fiction and poetry, the National Medal for Literature, the National Book Award, and election to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, just to name a few.

In *Robert Penn Warren: A Biography*, Joseph Blotner, whose biography of William Faulkner won much praise, peerlessly chronicles the life of another monumental Southern author. In the first few chapters Blotner describes Warren's most formative experiences of childhood, which occurred on his Grandfather Penn's Kentucky farm. Grandpa Penn had served with Nathan Bedford Forrest and fascinated his grandson with stories from the War. As a true country gentleman, Grandpa Penn "didn't like town people . . . because he could predict what they were going to say and didn't want to hear it again." Warren spent many an enthralling summer on the farm listening to tall tales, exploring the woods with friends, gigging frogs in the local ponds, and enjoying the best of life in the countryside.

After high school Warren planned to go to the Naval Academy and dreamt of commanding the Pacific

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Robert Penn Warren and his first wife, Cinina Brescia.

fleet. However, the summer before he was to leave for the academy Warren's left eye was badly injured. His younger brother accidentally hit him in the eye with a baseball-sized piece of coal, and thus Warren was forced to give up his dream of life on the high seas and settle for Vanderbilt, where he planned to study engineering.

Blotner writes that Warren found basic chemistry disappointing but quite enjoyed his freshman English class. He soon fell under the influence of a young professor named John Crowe Ransom who encouraged him in his poetic endeavors. Poetry was Warren's first love and he would always think of himself as a poet rather than a novelist no matter how

many accolades his novels won.

At Vanderbilt Warren also met upperclassman Andrew Lytle, who often critiqued his works. Lytle described Warren as "very brilliant, the smartest boy I ever knew. . . ." Their friendship proved quite enduring and Warren would send Lytle his latest poems for suggestions and criticism throughout his life. Eventually Warren met Allen Tate and Donald Davidson, and joined them on the masthead of *The Fugitive,* which saw the poet as something of a pariah prophet. Warren described the first meeting of the Fugitives he was invited to as "the greatest thrill I'd had in my life." At this time, Blotner writes, Ransom was composing his best poems and Tate was just discovering himself. It was a perfect environment for an aspiring poet like Warren to develop in.

After Vanderbilt, Warren entered the University of California as a graduate assistant. He chose California because it was almost as far away from home and his overprotective mother as he could get. His decision would have unimaginable repercussions insofar as he met his first wife, Emma "Cinina" Brescia, while working as a teaching assistant. The marriage, which lasted 22 years, was turbulent from the beginning due to Cinina's alcoholism and growing mental instability.

From California Warren went to Yale for a short time and then to Oxford. While at Oxford working on his B.A. in Literature, he wrote "The Briar Patch" for the classic Agrarian manifesto *I'll Take My Stand.* In "The Briar Patch" Warren sought to define the black's position in society. Warren postulated that Southern blacks were mistaken in viewing the industrialized North as a haven of opportunity. In Warren's view, blacks were best suited to the small town and farm. He saw agriculture as the "readiest and probably surest way" for blacks to establish themselves economically and socially. He also adopted Booker T. Washington's views on education. When the unreconstructed Donald Davidson first saw the essay he wanted to reject it. But the other Agrarians in Nashville persuaded him not to do so.

Warren would later repudiate his contribution to *I'll Take My Stand.* In *Segregation,* published 25 years after "The Briar Patch," Warren came out strongly for desegregation but described himself as a gradualist. In *Brother to Dragons,* Warren recreated the murder and dismemberment of a young slave by two of Thomas Jefferson's nephews. *Band of Angels* traces the life of a child of a slave mistress and a Kentucky planter. The portrayals of the Old South in these works caused many to doubt Warren's affinity for his native region.

1956 Agrarian Reunion (L-R): Allen Tate, Merrill Moore, Robert Penn Warren, John Crowe Ransom, and Donald Davidson.

According to Blotner, Warren remained in love with the South throughout his life. Often Warren described his house in the North as but a hotel and professed his heart to remain in the land of his youth. His love affair with the South, however, was complicated and tumultuous. Nonetheless, the South fostered many of his literary achievements and enduring friendships.

At Louisiana State University, for instance, Warren and Cleanth Brooks founded the *Southern Review*, which *Time* called "superior to any other in the English language." Warren and Brooks also collaborated on *Understanding Poetry* which revolutionized the teaching of poetry across the nation. And, of course, LSU was the Kingfish's university and Warren's time in Louisiana provided much material for the creation of Willie Stark and *All the King's Men*, for which he won the Pulitzer Prize.

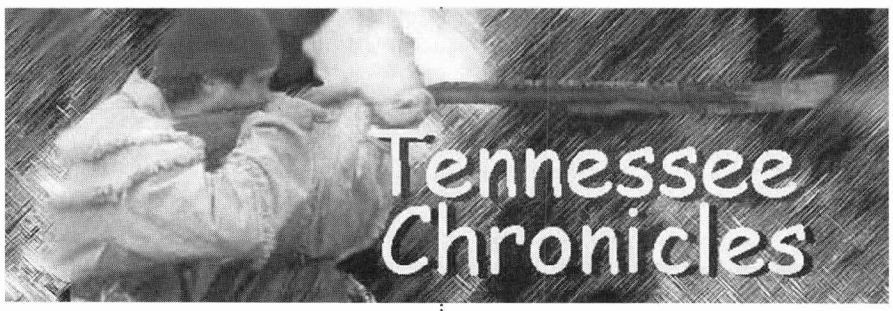
All the King's Men has proved to be Warren's most resilient work. Unlike many modern novels that one forgets once finished, Jack Burden, Willie Stark, and company linger on. The story of the rise and fall of Cousin Willie from the country with his Christmas tie is inimitable. The novel emphasizes, to paraphrase Paul West, how the evils of society pale in comparison to the totalitarian regimes instituted to cure them. At the same time Warren demonstrates to the reader how the best and worst of men can move toward—and then quickly away from—the ideal of virtue. And all this while the narrator skillfully handles as many as three levels of time at once.

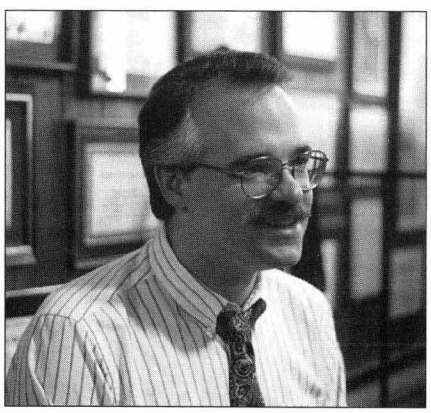
One might think that such a project as *All the King's Men* occupied most of Warren's time during its creation. But Warren never labored on just one work. He once advised a student, "When you get tired of the novel, then go to your short story, and after that to your essay. A writer should be working on three or four kinds of writing at the same time." Such a work ethic yielded 10 novels, 16 volumes of poetry, a biography, numerous short stories, historical essays, and social commentaries—not to mention Warren's time teaching at some of America's most prestigious universities.

Robert Penn Warren remained a dominant force on the American literary scene for almost 60 years. Blotner adroitly tells the story of the young Fugitive who proved to be the most prolific of his Vanderbilt comrades. The one thing missing from the account is an analysis of how the Warren of *I'll Take My Stand* became the Warren of *Segregation*. Blotner merely mentions the transformation and ignores the forces behind it. Nevertheless, Blotner proves himself to be quite a storyteller. For those interested in the Fugitives, Red Warren, or American literature in general, *Robert Penn Warren: A Biography* is recommended. ✪

EDWARD HOOPER

"Give us more Southern reporters, man, that's what we need."





Edward Hooper, 33, is a broadcast journalist and writer. He became well known throughout Tennessee last year when his *Tennessee Bicentennial Series* for WKXT-TV in Knoxville: a) focused on the Confederacy, b) won numerous broadcasting awards, and c) got him fired.

Hooper is currently producer of the Tennessee Public Broadcasting program *Tennessee Chronicles*. He was interviewed in Knoxville by Jim Howell, a new Southern Partisan contributor from Louisville, Tennessee.

Southern Partisan: Ed, tell us why you got into journalism and historical documentaries.

Hooper: Well I got into journalism because of the problem of non-native Southerners working at local stations and trying to report about issues that had to do with Southern culture.

Southern Partisan: Is that why you decided to specialize in Southern culture?

Hooper: Yes. The dark ages of Southern history are over. For too many years we've been sitting around watching historians keep two sets of books—one that they talk about in the colleges and universities, and then the other one that is more or less *real* history of the South. We have raised a couple of generations that are completely ignorant of what really went on in the South a hundred years ago.

Southern Partisan: You produced a Tennessee Bicentennial program for WKXT, that was very popular. Why was* Bicentennial Moments *popular?

Hooper: Because nobody had ever done that before, not in Tennessee or any other place in the South. We were digging up Tennessee history that had been forgotten. A number of the personalities we profiled were prominent nationally in their times, like inventor Weston Fulton. Others were great leaders.

To some, Tennessee has an image of being a hillbilly culture that is a good place to go for music and that kind of thing, but nothing else. *Bicentennial Moments* changed all that by bringing out the real flavor and character of Tennessee.

Southern Partisan:* Bicentennial Moments *was written about across the region, and earned a lot of awards. I know you've never really talked about it publicly, but how did Bicentennial Moments get you dismissed from WKXT?

Hooper: The basic problem with *Bicentennial Moments* was that it was pro-South. When you're covering the history of Tennessee, you're doing a lot of stories about people who supported the Confederate cause. You're finding a lot of famous people in history who resigned military commissions or who left their homes to go back to Tennessee and fight on the Confederate side in the War Between the States.

Battlefields added to the controversy because when you talk about battlefields and you use footage of historical re-enactments, you see the Confederate battle flag featured prominently. Unfortunately for us, it was around the same time that church burnings got to be a big story, and we were already having trouble with the politically correct crowd.

Then I did a story on Nelson Winbush and some other black Confederates who had fought for the Southern cause. After we ran that story on February 29, for the next two weeks we had threats of protest from the

NAACP. I was called into the office, questioned about every organization I was ever a member of (including the Masons) and was dismissed from the station.

I ran up against was a big wave of political correctness, and the cards were stacked against me going in. When you're accused of something like that, or when the insinuation is made that you're a racist, there's no need to even fight it. You just don't want to even talk about it. You just want to leave it alone and move on.

Southern Partisan: Wasn't there any protest about the fact that it was canceled?

Hooper: Oh, yes. I dodged reporters for two or three weeks, just trying to lay low. Some of the my best support came from black professors (and college professors in general) who were interested in seeing these stories brought out and presented.

When I started out in the business, I did a syndicated radio show, *Radio Appalachia*, and my partner in that was a black broadcaster, Bill Perkins. He's the one that really got me involved in going through black Southern history and documenting it, because it was just being completely covered up or forgotten. What is sad is we're to the point now that a lot of these older people are dying off, and these stories are dying with them.

But to answer your question, yes, there was a lot of support for me, but management decided to make the safe play.

Southern Partisan: Are there other things that you've done?

Hooper: My first big start was *Radio Appalachia*. That show ended up on about 21 stations across three states, and that dealt primarily with the history of the Southern Appalachian Mountains, and life and culture there. Then there was *Celebrate Knoxville*. The city had asked me to do a radio bicentennial program for them, and that was syndicated across 15 stations. I was hired at WKXT as a news reporter and after about a year, they came to me and asked me to do a bicentennial program for the state.

Southern Partisan: At what point did Tennessee PBS start discussing with you doing similar programming for their system?

Hooper: Right after I was terminated. I had a lot of support from within the industry and colleges. Word got around that I wanted to stay in the South and continue working in the South. It wasn't until after I got involved with them that I discovered that the state was wanting us to put together a 30-minute show much along the lines of *Bicentennial Moments* that focused on Tennessee, Southern history and culture. In a lot of cases, most of this material that I uncovered doing *Bicentennial Moments* had never been aired before. We were actually going to the museum in Nashville, and other places, and having them pull artifacts out of the vault that people had forgotten about.

Southern Partisan: I understand you've already won awards for your work on Shiloh National Military Park, and you were able to get national attention on the erosion problem there.

Hooper: A lot of people don't know that on the back of the Shiloh National Military Park is a 1,500-year-old Mississippian Indian village. The Tennessee Valley Authority's refusal to lower the water levels over the dam downstream has created an erosion problem that has destroyed half of the largest ancient mound, and has also torn into the causeway. Money had been appropriated for this problem time and time again, but it never seemed to find its way to Shiloh.

We were able to get them help, and that's all we really wanted to do, was try to get the problem fixed. Senator Thompson's people were fabulous as far as stepping in there and speaking up for us. When you get that kind of action happening, you're going to get something done. So hopefully now that that's fixed, we can get back to work and get the show on the road again.

Southern Partisan: Does the show needing financing? If so has it been difficult to raise, or easy to find?.

Hooper: Well, when you're producing any program that's pro-Southern, you're going to run into problems with financing. Especially now. We have a lot of people out there who are always talking about the liberal media, or liberal programs, but the bottom line is that the liberals will put the money up to pay for a program they like. They will pay whatever it takes to produce a show and get it on the air.

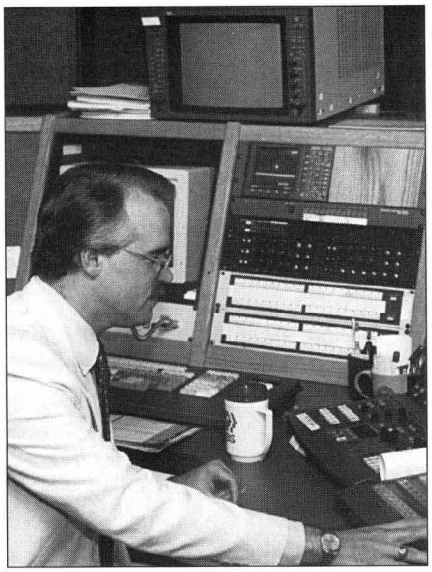
I feel that if we could just get in front of the right people, the financing will take care of itself. We're just moving forward the best we can right now.

Southern Partisan: Well, with* Tennessee Chronicles *under way, do you have any plans to expand into other states?

Hooper: Yes. As a matter of fact, that's been on the table from the start. The high school teachers, the college professors we've talked to at the University of Mississippi, the University of Tennessee, the University of Georgia and places like that, have all expressed a great deal of interest in bringing this program into their PBS systems.

ROBERT MICHAEL GIVENS

Nothing is currently being done on Southern history. Look at The History Channel, look at A&E, look at The Discovery Channel. Mainly what you're hearing are the textbook stories we heard in high school. They're nothing that focuses on the South *per se*. And I feel that if we can do this, *Tennessee Chronicles* can get up and can penetrate those markets successfully. Then



we can keep bringing up Southern documentary programs. Like I said, it's been the dark ages. People after the War Between the States hid a lot of their family history because of Reconstruction and seizure, and only now are the great-great-grandsons and granddaughters starting to dig out and rediscover their diaries.

Southern Partisan: What is it really that you like the most about doing broadcast documentary work?

Hooper: One of the best comments we ever received on the show was from the professor who said the thing he liked about the show after watching it was that sense of, "Huh. I didn't know that!" That's the way we like to keep it interesting. We put stuff in there that nobody's going to go out there and uncover. That's the goal for everything I've ever done in this kind of material: *stay original.*

When we do documentaries, we're doing documentaries on people and events, not so much with the superficial elements. I mean, try to compare the Great Smoky Mountain National Park, Southern Appalachia, the South, with the national parks out West. You can't do it. Southern parks are known more for the people and the cultures that evolved there, not the force that created them. That's why when you hear people talk about the Smoky Mountains or national military parks, you get more than just a sense of "Well, it's a pretty place to go." In most cases, a lot of people living in Tennessee, and Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas, have dead there. They've got relatives there they go and see. When they walk over here, it's not because they're on a little fall tour of the area. A lot of times they're in there decorating graves of their relatives. And the South is the last place, I think, where you have a strong family culture that is by its own will non-materialistic. You don't find that kind of culture anywhere else except in the Southern United States.

Southern Partisan: Well, with your beginnings in journalism and your experiences during this time, at this point would you consider yourself a journalist or a historian?

Hooper: A journalist or historian. I haven't seen that many good writers come out of history departments lately, so, you've got to put your faith that some journalist will do the kind of work I'm doing now. We're starting to see a little bit of it. I think The History Channel and things like that have sort of sparked an interest there to where reporters will now go back and look at doing historical features and that kind of thing. But, I would still say probably just a broadcast journalist. The one thing I don't like being referred to is a "history buff."

Southern Partisan: **Tennessee Chronicles** ***has a popular web site (***http://www.vic.com/tnchron/***). What's so wonderful about this site that draws people to it?***

Hooper: In short, I would say my producer, Jeff Henchell. We started the web site as a peripheral to the broadcast program. You don't have a broadcast program today and not have a web site. But we didn't want it to be one of those little back-patting things. So we went in there to create something that a teacher could use in a classroom, that re-enactors could rally round. We'll put up all the pictures of the re-enactments going on across the South and in Tennessee. We've got a resource section that was put together with the assistance of most of Tennessee's archeologists and historians. It's huge.

The Shiloh Battlefield fight was probably the biggest help in getting the word out about the site. People who were working in the preservation effort could go to one site, pop up Shiloh and then have not only our story (with the photos and everything), but also the stories from other magazines and national media we'd gotten involved with. It became a rallying point, if you will, for those people that were working on that project, and through that gained a reputation.

It surprised me. Like I said, I did not expect Tennessee, let alone the South, to be as wired as it is. I really do believe that at this point in time the web is an underrated media outlet. And while we designed the web site to be sort of a peripheral of *Tennessee Chronicles*, it has almost turned into an entity of its own.

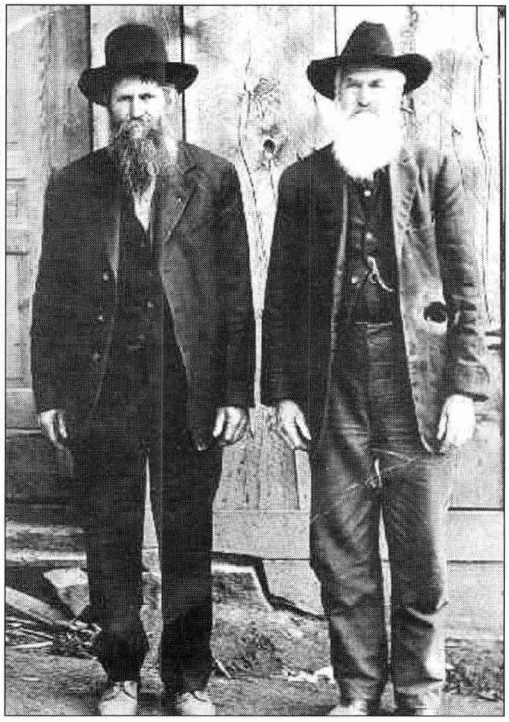
Southern Partisan: Do you have a lot of people just volunteer information for use in **Tennessee Chronicles*?***

Hooper: Oh yes. From the start, we got involved with people. From 12 years of being in this business, I knew the heads of the historical groups—like Sons of the American Revolution, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the Sons of Union Veterans. All have chapters in Tennessee.

We do go out and cover a lot of events ourselves, but like anybody else, we can't be everywhere at once, so when members of historical groups send us information and we feel that it fits our format, we'll take it as it is and put it on the air. They've been a godsend to us. When we were creating a web site, they saw what we were doing and they immediately got in there and started helping us become the one-stop shop for Tennessee history.

Southern Partisan: Do you have private individuals, people that aren't necessarily affiliated with a group who contribute to the show?

Hooper: Of course. Some are people who sort of give you things under the table or on the sly with a wink, because they don't want to be credited in a situation like we have today, where everybody is just scared to death to talk about Southern history. I'd say 90 percent of them are like doctors, lawyers, professors, etc. A lot of them have sto-



Ed Hooper found this photo of his great-great-grandfather and his great-grandfather in his grandmother's attic. Lorenzo Dow Hooper (left) stands with his son Enos Nathaniel Hooper.

ries that we've used through the years that have been priceless.

We came across an individual in Clarksville, Tennessee, that still owns the beads of Attakullakulla. He turned out to be a descendant of the Presbyterian missionary at Ft. Loudoun. He was descended from that missionary, and the beads apparently had been handed down through the generations. He had those things in a safety deposit box in Clarksville, Tennessee. It blew us away. Of course we ran up there and got pictures. We have a 30-minute episode coming out on Ft. Loudoun which we'll definitely use. So it's little things like that, family things that people have held on to through the years.

That's another thing you've got to love about the South. When most people talk about family today, they just talk about the two or three people living in their home. They're not talking about grandfathers and great grandfathers and things that have been handed down through the generations. That's where we're lucky in the South. A lot of this history may have been left out of the textbooks, but the families hang on to it. That's what we're after. We want to try to bring that back so people from the South can be proud of their heritage again, and not worry about Confederate relatives or ancestors. It's pretty ridiculous. Like I said, we're back to the argument of historians trying to keep two sets of books on us. All we want to do is just present the story, as it happened with no added accouterments anywhere.

Southern Partisan: So your program encompasses all of Tennessee history.

Hooper: Right. From 10,000 years ago up. They uncovered a mastodon in middle Tennessee a couple of years ago, and found evidence of where tribes had actually been in there skinning this mastodon for food. Plus we've got a tablet discovered in the Little Tennessee Valley estimated to be 10,000 years old. It has textile impressions, which would show a weaving-type culture.

When you get into the history, or the story of the region we call Tennessee, it's not going to focus just on the War Between the States. It's going to focus on the Southern culture, which was established 1740, 1750, and came up. The War Between the States was an interesting, brilliant part of Southern history. What we've got to do now is just say, "Look, fellas, the dark ages are over. We've got to go back. We've got to find this history and put it together, if not for ourselves, at least for our grandchildren." Maybe their generation won't be politically correct. They'll be adults, and they'll be able to look back and see it for what it is, and see it for the accomplishments and the achievements. As it stands now, we're seeing the culture destroyed simply by apathy. Hopefully, we'll make a small dent in the problem with *Tennessee Chronicles*.

Southern Partisan: Well, Mr. Hooper, what would you like to see change in journalism of the South, Southern journalism?

Hooper: I'd like to see more broadcasters and writers who understand Southern issues, peoples and cultures. I don't want to see the South continually be covered from Rob Reiner's point of view. Every time that guy shows up down here, I feel sorry for Mississippi. You know he's headed over there to shoot another movie about the Klan or a someone being victimized by Southerners.

You don't get someone from Dayton, Ohio, and put them in Dayton, Tennessee, and expect them to be able to write stories about the people of Dayton. It's not a job where you can just apply principle A, B and C. You've got to know the culture you're covering. You've got to know what issues and skeletons, if you will, are in the closet. The only way to do that is to cultivate native journalists. And Southern media organizations shouldn't be afraid to hire them.

Bruce Hall at CBS News, when I was working with him said "Look, it's the people that make the story. No matter what you do, no matter what the event, always be able to understand the people involved." You don't see that in the South. We've got too much emotional journalism. "Reporters" go out and cover a story, and if they run out of facts, they use their emotions to bridge that gap, to get them to the point where they can tag out. A lot of times what we see described as liberal journalism is really just ignorance of the facts, ignorance of the story.

I get sick and tired of going into these newsrooms and hearing the audience I'm writing to described as "Joe Beercan" and "Betty Bluecollar." It's on the backs of old Joe and Betty that the nation was built. You've got to be able to talk to these people. You're responsible to them. They're not responsible to you. And in the South, you want to be able to get that kind of quality journalist. But unfortunately, the Lewis Grizzards are maybe one in a million. My main thing would probably be "give us more Southern reporters, man, that's what we need."

Southern Partisan: Thank you for your time. ✪

The 14th Amendment As Extension of War

BY MARSHALL DEROSA

A Review of:
No Easy Walk to Freedom: Reconstruction and the Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment

By James E. Bond
Praeger, 1997, 295 pages, $65.

Many of the devastating effects of the war between the CSA and the US have been well documented. Defeated on the battlefield—with their regional economic, political, and social infrastructures in shambles—Southern States were reduced to the status of subject territories with all the politico-cultural effects attendant thereto. But much of the Southerners' life difficulties can neither be documented nor quantified. Nevertheless, if the objective is understanding through knowledge, as opposed to the piecemeal use of facts for political purposes, that side of the story should not be ignored. One should approach with humility the complex economic, political, and social dynamics of the war and its aftermath and acknowledge the profound influence of those dynamics to subsequent developments. Moreover, one should candidly concede that some questions are unanswerable.

Consider the following. Bond correctly begins his book with the statement that "the Civil War redefined the American nation." My concern is by what authority and to what effect was the American nation redefined? And was the redefinition of the American nation in the public interest?

Consider, for a moment, that Lincoln had constitutionally acquiesced in South Carolina's ordinance of secession. In all probability there would have been no war and the mortar of the Union would have the consent of its member States, in contradistinction to coercion. And make no mistake about it; Southerners were devoted to the *constitutional* union of States, as was manifested by their House and Senate resignation speeches and the CSA Constitution. As to what would have been the longterm plight of blacks in a nation in which the consent of the governed was the fundamental principle, we can only speculate. But there is ample evidence (e.g., the history of the U.S., the CSA, and abroad) to support the proposition that freedom and equality before the law would have been forthcoming within a few years and more bona fide. On the other hand, to claim that the war was requisite to manumission and/or the preservation of the Union can neither be substantiated nor disproved.

We will never know with certainty what might have been. But we do know that the Union was preserved—technically but not substantively—at the point of a bayonet, the slaves were freed *de jure*, not *de facto*, and that coercion was elevated to the status of a fundamental principle of the regime.

As Southerners surveyed their world, could they in their heart of hearts conclude that the "redefined nation" was the product of "reflection and choice" and that the end result was the "establishment of good government"?

More specifically, was the objective of Reconstruction good government? What sort of politicians held the reigns of power in the redefined nation? Were they altruistic gooddoers who primarily had the interests of Americans—freedmen included—in mind? Or were they demagogues with marching orders from the captains of an emerging industrial empire, who had little tolerance for Southern agrarianism and the States' Rights model that supported it? If the latter, is there sufficient evidence to impugn the motives behind Lincoln's subjugation of the CSA and the permanent rejection of a federal arrangement held together by States' Rights consensus?

Is it little wonder the demagogic claims of the Republicans that the preservation of the Union was to secure "government of, by, and for the people" while rejecting secession and the legitimacy of the CSA left conquered Southerners incredulous and angry.

Demagogues by definition are only coincidentally concerned with the public good; their primary concern is the pursuit of political power and its utilization for personal gain. Were a sufficient number of northern politicians using their political power for personal gain at the expense of the public interests of Southerners, so much so that Southerners were justified in resisting the exercise of that power? And if these northern demagogues qua tyrants were manipulating the freedmen in the oppression of Southerners, were the latter acting rationally in resisting the freedmen's power over them? In other words, now that coercion is the bond of the Union, was Reconstruction essentially the forum for the continuation of the War Between the States and Southern conservatives' resistance to Reconstruction justifiable? In the words of Professor Bond, "the ratification debate in the South proved that politics is, to confound Clausewitz's dictum, the extension of war by other means."

For the most part *No Easy Walk* excludes significant developments outside the South which are important to appreciate how the ratification of the 14th Amendment was an extension of the war. Developments such as government financed landgrabs by railroad magnates, protectionism, the Alta Vela affair, the attempt to impeach President Johnson, the rampant corruption of the Grant Administration, the discriminatory and racist policies of

Northern states against blacks, the 1876 presidential election, etc., place the 14th Amendment in some much needed context.

Bond does however provide the student of American politics with some significant insights into the motives of the war Republicans. Southerners were keenly aware that the *reconstructed* Union included some rotten political lumber of coercion, corruption, and cunning. The forced formalities of 14th Amendment ratification processes did little to dissuade Southerners that the postbellum Union was still a divided house and that the management of that house was in the hands of their oppressors, the very arrangement secession sought to avoid.

This is not hyperbole. The constitutional check of states' rights federalism is premised upon the axiom that to the extent national power is unconstrained, that power will be abused; certainly, the national government's power over the defeated South was with few exceptions, unconstrained. The same holds true in regard to the state governments' treatment of their respective inhabitants. The important function of state constitutions is the security of individual fundamental rights and the promotion of the general welfare of the States' respective inhabitants. Due to the overthrow of Southern state governments resulting from the downfall of the CSA, and the policies of presidential and congressional reconstruction, two important developments converged.

First, the breakdown of the federal arrangement cleared the way for Northern capitalists to use national power in the pursuit of personal profit. A prostrated South appeared to be ripe for such exploitation. And second, the freedmen sought from the national government the protection of rights that the Southern states were unwilling or unable to provide. The manner and extent to which the capitalists used the freedmen as expedient instruments of consolidating political/economic power has been and is being contentiously debated; a less contentious issue is that the freedmen fared poorly on both the political and economic fronts and that is was essential for the Republicans to drive a wedge between the freedmen and Southern conservatives if they were to maintain their monopoly of national power.

According to Bond, "specific issues which troubled Southerners throughout Reconstruction were these: the right to give testimony (could a black testify against a white?); the right to serve on a jury (could blacks sit in judgment of whites?); the right to vote (could blacks as well as whites vote?); the right to serve in the militia (must blacks and whites serve together in the same unit?); access to public education (must blacks and whites be schooled together?); and access to public conveyances and accommodations (could blacks sit next to whites?)." In what manner and to what extent do these Southern concerns differ from those of Northerners? Regional differences on these issues were minimal, because racial attitudes were not that dissimilar.

With the exception of Virginia, by 1868 Republicans controlled every Southern state and a majority of senators, representatives, and governors were from the North; moreover, as a result of ex-Confederates being disfranchised, freedmen outnumbered whites in voter registration. When Southern conservatives redeemed their States from Republican control circa 1877, the house of the "Union" may have ceased to be divided, but at what costs and to the advantage of whom? Partisan warfare which pitted blacks against conservative whites was by that time institutionally entrenched.

Bond correctly chastises the U.S. Supreme Court for its bogus selective incorporation theory, by which provisions of the Bill of Rights are applied to the States via the 14th Amendment. He makes it quite clear that the selective incorporation theory is not supported by the historical record of ratification in the ex-Confederate States. Bond's affirmation of the swindle cloaked in the Court's incorporation theory is the underlying mantra of the book, and highlighted in each chapter. Unfortunately, Bond seems to be entrapped by what Donald Davidson referred to as a parochialism in time. On the one hand he maintains that the North "did not fight the war to abolish the federal structure of American government." But on the other he claims that "The 14th Amendment did embrace a new notion of federalism" [and that there is] "substantial support for the proposition that the 14th Amendment nationalized questions about individual rights and deprived the states of either exclusive or final authority on those questions." He does qualify by acknowledging that the Congress, via section five of the 14th Amendment, was charged with the protection of individual rights and the Court with the adjudication—not creation—of rights.

No Easy Walk is significant insofar as it depicts a portion of the political landscape from which the 14th Amendment sprouted. And yes, as Bond maintains federalism may be dead. If so, it became moribund not at the hands of post WWII Supreme Court Justices—although they certainly made significant contributions to its demise; yet judicial activism would have been no match for a viable federalism. Rather, federalism was—and continues to be—drained of its lifeblood by Lincoln's rhetoric in order to nourish an increasingly overbearing nationalism. To borrow somewhat from Russell Kirk, the unreasoning Yankee forces of industrialism, centralization, secularism, and the levelling impulse trampled down the Southern harvest of agrarianism, decentralization, traditional values, and an ordered society. Such was anticipated by the CSA founders, and their defeat may yet prove to be the "general misfortune of mankind." ✪

***Marshall DeRosa teaches political science at Florida Atlantic University and is author of* The Confederate Constitution of 1861: An Inquiry into American Constitutionalism *and the forthcoming* The Politics of Dissolution: The Quest for a National Identity and the American Civil War.**

W. J. Cash: A Life

by Bruce Clayton
LSU, 1997, 236 pages, $13.95 (paper).

In his short, ill-fated life, W.J. Cash was the author of one book, *The Mind of The South*. This colorful, often sensationalistic look at the 1920s South has long been a favorite among both Southern liberals and approving Yankee critics.

Cash was a tragic figure, a sometimes newspaperman who suffered through bouts of unemployment, even living with his parents into his 30s. After *Mind* was published, Cash traveled to Mexico with his bride where in a fit of extreme paranoia, he was sure Nazi agents were planning to murder him. (As an editorialist for the *Charlotte News*, Cash was a severe critic of Nazi aggression in Europe.) Although a newlywed with a bright future ahead of him, Cash hung himself in a Mexico City hotel room. He was only 41.

The Mind of the South has remained in print all these years, but it is not a seminal book about the region. By focusing on working-class behavior, the book has its limitations. The achievement of the Old South aristocracy for instance—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun and others—was glossed over in favor of more topical reporting.

Mind was mostly a journey through the dark side of the rural South. The transformation from an agrarian to an industrial society resulted in high crime rates (in the 1920s, murder rates in Southern cities were higher than those in their Northern counterparts), plus labor and race violence, all of which are duly recorded in Cash's opus. Cash was also a critic of the Vanderbilt Agrarians (he viewed them as literary rivals). However, the Agrarians accurately prophesied where an industrial South would lead us. Cash understood this, too. But, unlike the Agrarians, he did not fight such disastrous trends. While he understood the South was "the last great bulwark of Christianity," Cash nonetheless, was influenced more by such decadent moderns as Darwin, Freud, Nietzsche and H.L. Mencken. This was the book's greatest drawback. Caught up in his "Proto-Dorian" myth of the region, Cash seemed certain that the average working-class white Southerner was naturally prone to violent, anti-social behavior.

On a brighter side, Cash was an able literary journalist, writing extensively on Faulkner, Wolfe, James Branch Cabell and Erskine Caldwell. He championed the Southern literary renaissance on the 1920s and '30s and even harbored his own dreams of literary glory. In all, however, Cash was a decent journalist, but a bad historian. The true "mind of the South" is presented in more somber, scholarly works by Frank Owsley, Richard Weaver, Andrew Lytle, Donald Davidson, Grady McWhiney, and Francis Butler Simkins. These gentlemen, among others, should remain our guide to understanding what has made the South unique

Despite this, Cash himself is being used, in this book, by a biographer apparently out to settle some old grievances with the South. Mr. Clayton truly hates the Old South. For Clayton, white racism is the single defining characteristic of the South; just about everything else fades into insignificance. A little more about Cash's life and much less about social commentary would have made this a better book. Or as Clayton interprets Cash's view of the newly-industrialized South: "The South was still the South. It had cities and factories, slums and skyscrapers, a handful of first-rate universities, Yankee hustle and Rotary....But underneath, the Southern man was still the same simple, emotional, racist, religious, individualistic, bragging, boasting, violent Celt he had always been."

The words are Mr. Clayton's. With such raw anti-Southern bigotry, you wonder why the author teaches at an obscure college in Pennsylvania. He ought to be at an Ivy League university, perhaps. And maybe his biography should have been published by a big firm on Madison Avenue. For all of Cash's shortcomings, he never disliked the South as this angry biographer obviously does.

—Joe Scotchie

Call of Duty: The Sterling Nobility of Robert E. Lee

by J. Steven Wilkins
Highland Books (P.O.Box 254, Elkton, MD 21922-0254), 1997, 350 pages.

Much more than a century after its end, the War Between the States remains a popular and important topic of study. A reason for this interest is the leadership of Robert E. Lee.

In this well-written insightful volume, Wilkins examines the life of Lee before and after the War, as well as during the conflict. He surveys Lee's youthful years finding them to be years of trial due to an often absent father, and later, a severely ill mother. These events were providential and preparatory of the development of Lee's God-given leadership abilities and skills. As the author notes, Lee's capable leadership was noted prior to the War and continued after the surrender at Appomattox in his willingness to become president of the unprestigious financially-strapped Washington College.

In the second part of this volume the author examines Lee's life under manifold character lenses. Through these, the reader views

Lee's devotedness to his family, his humility, his fight with bitterness, his unselfishness, and most importantly, his trust in God through Jesus Christ. This trust formed the basis for his willingness to do his duty whether such duty meant being a servant to his invalid wife or being a leader and formulating battle strategy.

The author is aware of Lee's faults, and thus does not raise Lee above his humanity. However, aware of his sterling leadership gifts, Wilkins is desirous that the reader understand that Lee was an exemplary human in many respects.

Using a multitude of quotations from Lee, his contemporaries, including some opponents, and his biographers, Wilkins provides the reader with a succinct, yet satisfying, picture of Lee's life and leadership. Herein we find true characteristics that need to be practiced by current leaders and those desirous of such roles.

This book should be of interest to many because leadership is needed in a multitude of societal realms. Women can find much insight in the volume regarding true manhood and definitive leadership. Wilkins' clarity of style, use of anecdotes, and love of history being faithfully told, make this volume informative, enjoyable, and practical reading for adults and youth.

—Byron Snapp

The Race Card: White Guilt, Black Resentment, and the Assault on Truth and Justice

Peter Collier and David Horowitz, Editors
Prima Publishing, 1997, 230 pages, $24.00.

Edited by a pair of repentant leftists, *The Race Card* tries to simplify the nation's racial crisis into a matter of black and white, essentially scolding "civil rights leaders" for "tearing open old wounds (rather) than healing old ones."

The O.J. Simpson trial, the rhetoric of Louis Farrakhan and Jesse Jackson are examples that immediately come to mind. There are others, many of which are well taken, but the book gets off to a bad start by recalling the "glory days" of the 1960s, especially the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights bill. Conservatives enjoy quoting Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision of a "color blind society." As do the editors. In fact, King, by the early 1960s, was already supporting racial quotas and indeed, the 1964 Civil Rights bill was relentlessly (and as it turned out, accurately) criticized by Southern Democrats as quota legislation. The editors like to showcase their idealism, but when it comes to constitutional matters, we'll have to take Sam Ervin over David Horowitz.

That said, there is nothing wrong with most of the essays here. Many of them are timely and often, courageous. "Black-on-White Crime" by G.J. Kruper, for instance, is a withering commentary on how such crimes, especially rape and murder, go virtually unnoticed by a media that would give wholesale coverage if such crimes were committed by whites against blacks. The essay is complimented by several chilling examples, including the murder of Michael Westerman and the rape and murder of a white Charleston woman in the hands of five black men out to "get a white girl" as revenge for "four hundred years of oppression." In all, 1993 Justice Department statistics show that 1.3 million whites were victims of black criminals, while only 130,000 blacks were victimized by whites. All of which has become "the dirty little secret of American society."

The book also examines the "root causes" of anti-white violence and black anti-Semitism: Namely, rap "lyrics," Farrakhan-style demagogery—and not the least, an enduring white guilt. Or how does Angela Davis, with no scholarly credentials whatsoever receive a tenured position at a state college in California? White guilt remains a strong force in American society, if only because it is confined to the elites in politics, education, and the media; in short, the people who run the country.

The book also contains detailed criticism of affirmative action. Nothing new with that. A more important story is the lack of opposition to this highly unpopular policy by the Republican party leadership in Washington.

But mainly, the editors pine for a golden age which never existed. The Jim Crow era probably would have died a natural death without edicts and legislation from afar. Either way, Southern politicians of the 1950s and '60s were correct to oppose federal intervention in the operation of local school elections. There were constitutional questions, but also the larger effort to reconstruct a distinct cultural region the elites in Washington and New York have always despised. The editors are not natives of the South. Legislation they celebrate advocated massive Federal intervention in a region they knew nothing about. Because such legislation promised an impossibly "equality of results," that age, as mild as it seems today, set the stage for today's poisonous social climate.

—Joe Scotchie ✪

HELP *Southern Partisan* KEEP UP THE FIGHT!

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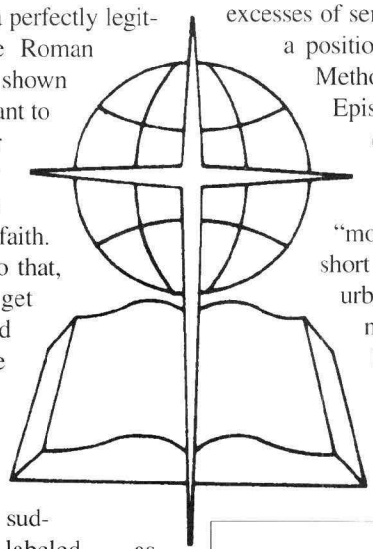
Devoutly Speaking

BY ROBERT HILLDRUP

I haven't done a computer search on the subject—and I don't think I need to do one—because every example I have run across in the daily press convinces me that my Baptist brethren (and sisteren, to concoct another trendy, usless but politically correct term), are getting a raw deal when it comes to basic fairness in reporting.

It's no secret that Southern Baptists have been in right much turmoil, particularly over the issue of whether their seminaries are sticking to the general confines of Baptist belief.

I know that what Baptists believe can be discussed at length and that is certainly not my purpose for I realize that where there are two or three Baptists gathered together soon there may be two or three new Baptist churches. But where churches are putting up the money to train seminarians for their denominations, these meet and proper concerns and criticisms from these churches should be heard and heeded. It's a perfectly legitimate position, as the Roman Catholic hierarchy has shown over and over: if you want to teach theology in our schools and under our hat, at least stick to the basic positions of our faith. If you don't want to do that, then go elsewhere, get your own soapbox, and go to it. But when the media begin to report these concerns, strange things happen. The conservatives or traditionalists suddenly become labeled as Fundamentalists, and if you don't think the term "fundamentalist" is a pejorative, you haven't seen how the papers are using it these days. The other side—what might be categorized as liberals—is always referred to as the "moderates."



It doesn't make any difference how liberal the liberal is—whether he denies the Virgin Birth, the divinity of Jesus Christ, or the fact that the practices of adultery and homosexuality are sins—such a person is always labeled as part of the moderate wing, and which among of us can oppose moderation?

Of course, as rational people know, a conservative need not be a fundamentalist and even if he is a fundamentalist, he may be one as Webster would define him, and not some cross-eyed, incestuous illiterate whose primary proof in life is that outpatient mental health does not work.

Yes, indeed, some fundamentalists are out pretty far on the loopy limb of religion, but are they any nuttier than the Wisdom worshipers and libertines who give a new and rosy glow to the meaning of blasphemy? Hardly.

It is this sort of thing that, I think, our Baptist friends are upset about and who, legitimately, are withholding their monies and their support from the idiotic excesses of seminaries gone mad. It is a position that more than a few Methodists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians might want to emulate.

And that, come to think of it, is a pretty "moderate" position to take, short of bringing the kind of urban renewal to the seminaries that Sherman brought to old Atlanta. It may be the fundamentalists who are the true moderates after all. ✪

Mr. Hilldrup lives in Short Pump—a suburb of Richmond, Virginia—and is a Methodist layman.

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Southern Cooking

BY SALLY JEAN

With snow drifts blanketing even the lower South, my New Year's resolution came easily this year: stay warm.

Luckily, a kitchen is a good place to do that. Here are some recipes to keep your cheeks rosy— not from the cold, but from good cheer and good food.

Louisiana Gumbo

And what's better than Good Ol' **Louisiana Gumbo** (especially since this recipe makes enough to feed your family for a few days):

½ cup vegetable oil
½ cup flour
2 cups chopped onion
2 tbs. chopped garlic
1 cup chopped green pepper
1 pound smoked sausage, cut into bite size pieces
3/4 pound okra (optional)
4 cups chicken broth
4 cups water
2 cups chopped tomato
1/4 cup Worcestershire sauce
1/4 cup catsup
2 bay leaves
1 tsp. salt
2 tbs. Tabasco sauce
½ tsp. ground red pepper
1/4 tsp. dried whole thyme
½ tsp. dried oregano
1 lb. medium shrimp
1 lb. crabmeat
2 cups chopped cooked chicken
1 lb. scallops
Hot cooked rice (optional)
Gumbo file (optional)

Combine vegetable oil and flour in a large Dutch oven: cook over medium heat, stirring constantly, until roux is caramel colored (15 to 20 minutes.) Stir in onion, garlic, green pepper and cook on *low* heat 30 to 45 minutes, stirring occasionally.

Lightly brown sausage, then brown okra in some of the sausage drippings. Add both to onion mixture along with broth and water. Stir well and heat through. Add tomato, Worcestershire, catsup, and all spices. Simmer 2 hours, stirring occasionally.

Peal and devein shrimp; add shrimp, crab, chicken and scallops to Dutch oven. Simmer 15 to 20 minutes or until shrimp is done. Remove and discard bay leaves. Serve as soup or over rice with gumbo file sprinkled on as desired.

Charleston Cheddar Scones

A good accompaniment is **Charleston Cheddar Scones**: Cut ¼ cold butter into 1 ¾ cup flour, 2 ¼ tsp. baking powder and ¼ tsp. salt. Mix 2 eggs, ½ cup cream and ½ cup grated sharp cheddar cheese in a bowl, then add all at once to dry mixture. Stir until just blended. Drop by large tablespoonful onto baking sheet and bake 12 to 15 minutes at 375, until golden brown.

Hot Spiced Cider

You'll also need something steaming for your mug. My Favorite tongue-toaster is **Hot Spiced Cider**. Combine 4 cups fresh pressed (a.k.a. *sludgy*) apple cider with 2 cups spiced rum and heat thoroughly.

Mississippi Mulled Wine

Another traditional standby is **Mississippi Mulled Wine**. Pour 750 ml of decent red wine and 4 cups of apple cider or juice into a saucepan. Put 4 to 6 whole cloves, 8 to 10 whole allspice and 1 large cinnamon stick (an essential ingredient that Yankees sometimes forget) into a cheesecloth sack or paper coffee filter tied into a sack. Place in the pot. Bring to a gentle boil. Reduce heat and simmer 20 minutes. Allow to steep at least 10 minutes before serving.

If the weather turns really nasty and you fear you'll be stuck in your cabin for an uncomfortably long spell, you might want to pick up a copy of *The Confederate Housewife* (compiled by John Hammond Moore, Summerhouse Press, Columbia, South Carolina, $14.95 paperback) so you'll know how to make do. *The Confederate Housewife* is a witty "cookbook" full of tips on how to survive hard times and how to make coffee out of just about anything. Who needs Starbuck's when you've got a recipe for sweet potato coffee or— even better—okra coffee? You'll also find "sundry suggestions for garden, farm, and plantation," and this hints on how to make soap, candles, waterproof cloth, matches, beer, doughnuts, puddings, and other necessities, as well as how to cure chills, diarrhea, cancer, and warts. Even if you don't need to learn "how to throw an ox...to extract hedgehog quills from the animal's hind foot," this is a good read while you warm your own feet by the fire. ✪

Sallie Jean is a new contributor to *Southern Partisan*. She is one of several who will provide us with the best of Southern Cooking.

The Sobran VIEW

BY JOSEPH SOBRAN

The Men Who Know Too Much

WASHINGTON — It's good to have an open mind. It's good to be educated. But it's hard to keep your mind open after it's been educated.

Maybe your experience was like mine. As a schoolboy I was taught that the Earth went around the sun. My mind was open, and I accepted this information readily. So far, so good.

When I learned later that Copernicus had had some difficulty selling this idea to scientists of the Ptolemaic persuasion, I thought those old scientists were awfully benighted. If I'd been around in those days, I thought, I'd have been on the side of Copernicus—of course!

What I didn't understand was that the Ptolemaic astronomers weren't silly at all. They were highly intelligent and very learned. But the more they "knew" via Ptolemy's Earth-centered model, the harder it was for them to accept a rival system based on another model.

An ignoramus could easily be open-minded. He wouldn't appreciate the problems the Copernican system seemed to present. But a scientist whose mind had integrated Ptolemy's system would have a very hard time adjusting, precisely because a lot of perfectly valid knowledge had been organized on a certain principle. That principle seemed so obviously true that it was extremely confusing to try to reorganize the same knowledge on a different principle.

Intellectual revolutions always encounter their strongest resistance not from the stupid and bigoted, but from the educated, whose opposition, however stubborn, can't be fairly called either stupid or bigoted. At some point, knowledge may become a limitation, interfering with simple perception.

I keep finding this true in the debate over Shakespear's authorship. Impressive evidence points to the 17th Earl of Oxford as the real author of the Shakespeare works, and many intelligent people agree that Oxford was probably the author. But professional Shakespeare scholars can't assimilate the idea. They have too much mental furniture to rearrange. If they know less, they might accept Oxford more easily. In a sense, their opposition does them credit.

In the field of constitutional law, amateurs have an edge over lawyers. The amateur, undistracted by case law and precedent, can read the Constitution and see that the whole idea is that "we the people" merely "grant" or "delegate" a few specific powers to the federal government. Anything not on the list is withheld. Very simple. And every historian knows that this is what the framers of the Constitution meant.

But lawyers have to be concerned with the practical question of how the constitution is currently interpreted, which means learning a large body of case law that has intervened since the original Constitution was ratified. And by the time a lawyer has mastered the hundreds of major court decisions, with all their anfractuous reasoning, that now govern the application of the Constitution, his mind is usually too clogged to allow him to read the document itself without preconceptions.

The more intelligent the lawyer, the more remote his mind is likely to be from the simple principle of the original document. He will assume complications where they don't really exist. Dimly aware that the layman finds the tangles of the law exasperating, he may defend the status quo on grounds that the Constitution is a "living document."

But a document whose obvious and primary meaning is no longer enforced is not "living." It's a dead letter. And the Constitution has been killed not by the ignorant amateurs, but by the learned professionals, who have turned themselves into oracles. An oracle doesn't reason logically; it reveals unpredictably.

In short, we no longer know what to expect of the law, which means that the rule of law has actually become the arbitrary rule of men. That's why Supreme Court appointments have become subjects of bitter contention. Interpretation of the Constitution has become divorced from the essentially simple meaning of the document; an expert can make it mean anything he wants. The arbitrary rule of men has developed learned pretexts, deaf to simplicity, scornful of the obvious.

We all start out with open minds. Then we get educated. Then, if we work hard at it, we may even learn to open our minds again.

The Apostle Of Dialogue

WASHINGTON — "It's no use telling our rulers to mind their own business," a noted reactionary once observed. "Our whole lives are their business."

So it is that President Clinton has his the road as our therapist-in-chief, conducting a "national dialogue on race." Not only has he appointed another official committee on the subject; now he leads discussions himself, a la Phil Donahue, facing a live studio audience with a hand-held mike.

Under his modes, affable manner is a rather naive arrogance. "What we're trying to do here," he explained to his Akron audience the other day, "is drop a pebble in the pond and have it reverberate all across America." Does he really believe that, or does he just think we'll believe it?

The idea was a dud. As a Washington Post headline put it, "Explosive Issue Fails to Ignite at Town Hall Meeting on Race."

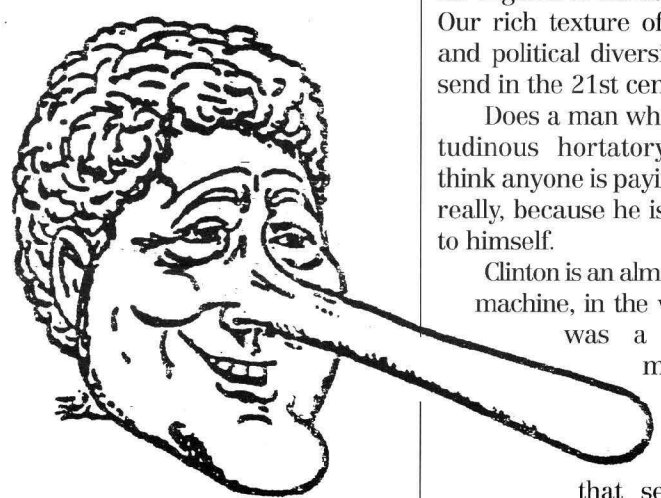
Politicians used to understand, without being told, that they didn't necessarily have whatever it takes to fill our lives with meaning. Their job was to fill potholes.

But Clinton was formed by the '60s—not by the radicalism of the New Left, but by the soft, corny idealism of the Kennedys, the Kerner Commission, the mainline churches and all the other apostles of Dialogue, including the broadcast talk shows.

He has also picked up the idea that a political "leader" is really supposed to lead, like a spiritual leader. But he, if anyone, should know that politics is a matter of putting a wet finger in the wind, reading the polls, anticipating reactions, swapping favors, making promises, avoiding controversy, and ... I'm leaving something out ... let's see ... oh yes! Raising money. You have to be able to raise a lot of money.

If you have skills in these areas, you are equipped for public office. It may be a necessary function, but it ought to be a humble one, because the virtues it requires are neither holy nor heroic.

But Bill and Hillary Clinton seem to think that because we elected them (yes, them: "Buy one, get one free"), we desperately need them, not only to rule us, but to inspire us, guide us, teach us, enlighten us, raise our consciousness. Mrs. Clinton has expatiated on the necessity of a "politics of meaning." The Clintons hope, in the short time allotted to them, to elevate us all to their plane.



As you may have noticed, people who are big on "dialogue" usually expect to do most of the talking. They may let others talk too, but they want to control the format and have the last word, and the last word is usually foreordained before the dialogue begins.

Does anyone think that after conducting his "national dialogue on race" Clinton, chastened by feedback, may abandon his special racial constituencies? Is it possible that he will become open to the possibility that "diversity," which he calls "our greatest strength," may have its limits? May we hope that he will acknowledge that America's racial history is a little more complex than the moral melodrama of liberal cliche?

In his first inaugural address, Clinton spoke in this vein: "Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century....The challenge of our past remains the challenge of our future... We cannot—we will not —succumb to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul, everywhere.... Our rich texture of racial, religious, and political diversity will be a godsend in the 21st century."

Does a man who talks such platitudinous hortatory bombast even think anyone is paying attention? Not really, because he isn't even listening to himself.

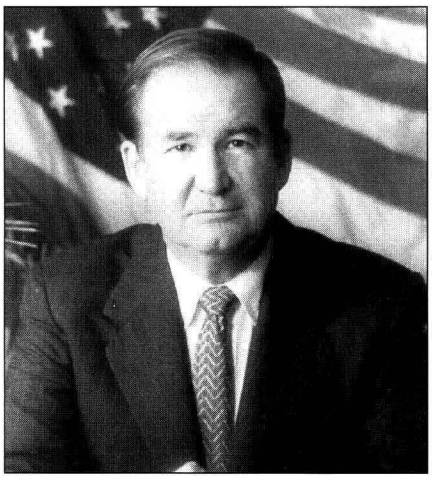
Clinton is an almost perfect political machine, in the way the Joe Louis was a perfect fighting machine. His words are designed only for immediate political effect. In that sense, and in no other, he is a masterly speaker.

But nobody could possibly take his words to heart. They have all the moral weight of a commercial jingle. His is a politics of meaninglessness. ✪

Please welcome Joseph Sobran to *Southern Partisan*. A former writer for *National Review*, Sobran has been a syndicated columnist for over a decade. He lives in Arlington, Virginia, with his four children.

THE DIVIDING LINE

BY PATRICK BUCHANAN



SUICIDE OF THE WEST

In the fall issue of *Public Interest*, scholar Nicholas Eberstat has good news for those worried about global population growth but bad news—indeed ominous news—for the West.

Using recent demographic studies, Eberstat writes that there is a high probability that world population growth will level off by the year 2040 and then begin a gradual decline. But if demography is destiny, the West appears about finished. Consider:

In 1950, five of the 12 most populous nations on earth were Western: the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy, France. By 1995, the United Kingdom, France and Italy had fallen out of the top 12; only the United States and Germany remained. Now, look at the top 12 nations as of 2050, even if Third World population growth is arrested.

Nation – Millions of People	
India	1,231
China	1,198
Pakistan	306
Nigeria	279
USA	272
Indonesia	251
Brazil	188
Bangladesh	178
Ethiopia	176
Zaire	146
Iran	143
Mexico	27

What these numbers suggest is that people whose grandparents once lived under Western colonial rule will inherit the Earth. By 2050, writes Eberstat, the Phillippines will have more people than any country in Europe including Russia. And though the population of Europe is today equal to that of Africa, by the mid-21st century, Africa's population will be more than triple that of Europe.

Consider Italy. Today an Italian couple has on average 1.2 children, the lowest birth rate in Europe. This means that for every 8 young Italians today, there will be five children, three grandkids, and one or two great-grandchildren. If these birth rates endure, the Italian people are headed toward extinction. Writes Eberstat: "In Italy ... barely 2 percent of the population in 2050 would be under the age of 5, but more than 40 percent would be 65 or older."

As the population of the Third World grows, that of almost every European nation is shrinking. Eberstat estimates that by 2050, for every child under 7 in Europe, there will be four people over 65. Who will service the nursing homes of the dying continent that dominated world history for more than 500 years?

Assuming the above statistics hold, some predictions may be ventured. The Russian Far East, the vast land of limitless resources, will likely pass to China, which has long coveted these "lost territories." A Russia one-10th China's size, its population shrinking and aging, will be unable to hold them.

America, too, will change. As Bill Clinton happily observed last summer, at our present immigration rates and birth rates, the United States by 2050 will cease to be a Western nation, either in the composition of her population or in her culture.

In geopolitical terms, the numbers Eberstat reports portend India's rise as dominant power in South Asia and the Indian Ocean, though this Hindu nation will have hundreds of millions of Muslim citizens and find herself surrounded by populous Muslim neighbors. Indeed, demography today appears to be a mighty ally of Islam.

As for the Persian Gulf, it will almost surely be dominated by an Iran that by 2050 will have a population as large as that of the United States in 1940. And when one reflects that by 2050 the atomic bomb will be a 105-year-old invention, it is difficult to see how America can forever deny that weapon to Tehran.

By 2050, people may wonder why America ever went to war in the Persian Gulf to destroy Iraq, when the result was to ensure Iranian hegemony. Absent some catastrophe or war, the only open question would seem to be: What kind of Iranian regime will it be that controls the Gulf?

What do these demographic numbers tell us? That the Western hour in world history is ending, that by its hedonistic embrace of the sexual revolution—of birth control and of abortion—Western Civilization, that great vibrant part of the world once called Christendom, is marching merrily along toward civilizational suicide. God is not mocked.

IS THE SOUTH RISING AGAIN?

During the civil rights movement, demonstrators who "sat in" at segregated lunch counters of defied court orders were routinely absolved. And Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was lionized by our liberal establishment for his imitation of India's apostle of non-violence, Gandhi, and his understanding of the validity of civil disobedience.

The South was wrong, it was said; the civil rights movement was right. And many were the illegal actions pardoned and hallowed in the name of the "civil rights revolution."

Well, in Alabama today, the familiar tactics are being employed anew—in a different cause. And my prediction is the establishment will soon be howling about the rule of law and hurling thunderbolts at those who defy court orders.

From Alabama Gov. Fob James to Etowah County Judge Roy Moore, from teacher and coaches of the Bible Belt's DeKalb County to its parents and students, there is open defiance of federal court orders that these good Baptist folk believe are intended to de-Chrirstianize their communities.

For a year, Judge Moore has ignored a court order to take down a carved replica of the Ten Commandments from his court. Gov. James has said that if the feds send U.S. marshals to Judge Moore's court, he, his state troopers and the Alabama National Guard will be there to meet them on the doorsteps.

But DeKalb County, were Baptist churches number 73 and bars 0, is where the defiance might be called mass civil disobedience.

On hearing a case that religious activity was still taking place in county schools, including organized prayer at football games and students praying in class, U.S. Judge Ira DeMent issued an 18-page order. It presumed to describe what was intolerable under the U.S. Constitution. Here are a few of the judge's prohibited practices:

No coach may lead his players in prayer; no prayer may be broadcast over the public address system of any school; no prayer my be offered at any school event; no school-sanctioned religious activity may take place in classrooms; there is to be no distribution of Bibles on school property, and no songs about Joseph, Mary and the Baby Jesus at school assemblies before the Christmas, excuse me, winter break.

To enforce his ruling, Judge DeMent ordered a "monitor" into DeKalb County schools; and teachers are to be given instructions on what they may and may not do under the Constitution.

The ACLU, which brought the case, rejoiced. "We certainly hope that out of respect for the law that the DeKalb County school officials follow the judge's guidelines," said Pamela Summers, who argued the case. Lots of luck, Pam.

DeMent's "prayer police" ignited a firestorm. Statewide, the reaction was astonishment and outrage. Gov. James called the judge's order a "moral and legal catastrophe" and offered to lead the county's students in prayer. School officials denounced the order as anti-democratic. At one football game, so many parents and students prayed together, the players could not get on to the field. And there is open defiance by students at DeKalb County schools.

We are headed for a historic confrontation between federal power and states' rights, and on this newest battlefield of the culture war, tradionalists have the high moral ground.

In 1954, the United States added "under God" to our pledge of allegiance to "acknowledge the dependence of our people and our Government upon the moral directions of the Creator." When the best known of those "moral directions of the Creator" is the Ten Commandments, how can the feds demand they be pulled down?

Judge DeMent, too, has a problem. If he charges Gov. James and DeKalb County school officials with contempt and orders them arrested—along with praying students and their parents — the folks arrested will become martyrs to a new "religious rights revolution," and civil disobedience will erupt across Alabama and the Bible Belt.

Among the triumphs of liberalism in our time has been the seizure of power over society by the Supreme Court, the capture of that court by the militant left, and the timidity of conservatives in Congress to confront it and roll back its illegitimate theft of power.

While the people rage at repeated acts of arrogance by federal judges, our president shrugs, and Congress wrings its hands. Now, Alabama has chosen the course of brazen defiance, and the rest of us, including Congress, will be forced to take sides.

I'll take my stand in Dixie. ✪

"Racial Reconciliation" Threatens National Heritage

Faster and faster the dialectic of "racial reconciliation" unfolds—not the egalitarian harmony that President Clinton chirps about and not the guilt, apologies and repentance of the Promise Keepers, but the reality of racial power unloosed from cultural restraint. In New Orleans last month, a black-controlled school board voted to strip the name of George Washington from a local elementary school and change the name to that of a black doctor. The reason given for the change: Washington was a slave owner and, in the new, racially reconciled order, therefore a non-person.

The attack began with onslaughts against the Confederate Flag, but everyone who grasped what was going on knew it wouldn't end there. The case against the Confederacy was that it was involved with slavery, and so it was. It was only a matter of time before the crusade got around to everyone else in American history that had anything to do with slavery or with whatever other demons lurk in the racial inferno that American history has become.

Last year, when Marxist historian Conor Cruise O'Brien demanded that Thomas Jefferson be expelled from the pantheon of American icons because he too was less than a racial egalitarian, I noted the implications. "The main implication," I wrote, "is that in that multiracial 'nation' of the future, there will be no place, not only for Thomas Jefferson, but indeed for most other American presidents, the civilization they built or the heritage they left." The latest assault on Washington is only the most recent rung up the ladder of racial and cultural reconstruction.

Washington's is not the only name to be scratched off the school buildings, nor will school buildings be the only places from which his name will be removed. The New Orleans school board is intent on removing all the names of all slave owners from public schools. "This was the most degrading thing that ever happened in North America," rants New Orleans civil rights leader Carl Galmon, "and Washington was a part of it. To African-Americans, George Washington has about as much meaning as David Duke."

The reception of the school board's action has been rather muted. Washington Post columnist Richard Cohen, troubled by the action, nevertheless wound up defending it. The first president, after all, did own slaves, and "slavery is rooted in the racism that justified it." Therefore, Washington, like Jefferson must go.

How much else of the national heritage—its heroes, symbols, documents, and monuments—must also go we are not told, but logically there is no reason why any of it should survive if you grant the premises that Mr. Cohen and racial reconcilers harbor.

Those premises include the beliefs that slavery, "racism" and any other non-egalitarian relationship between the races is so evil that it cannot be judged by the ordinary historical standards by which we conventionally judge everything else in the past and that any person or any institution touched by it cannot be redeemed by any other action or belief or association it has. Therefore, there can be no limit to the reconstruction; it will go as far as those pushing it want it to go, which is likely to be pretty far.

There are supposedly some 450 other schools in the United States also named after George Washington, as well as streets, colleges and universities, and other places, not to mention one state and one well-known city in particular. If Washington's name is so abhorrent that it cannot adorn a public school, why should it identify the capital city of the nation? Why should we have an internationally famous monument to him, or to Jefferson, or for that matter to Abraham Lincoln, whose racial views are by no means in fashion today? What about everyone else who ever had a street or city named after him? Did he own slaves too, and what exactly did he say or think about race?

The logic of the reconstruction that has now been unleashed is inexorable, and it calls up an endless march that uproots every part of the national identity as history has defined it. It calls for the abolition of American history itself, and with its abolition the imposition of a new order defined and driven by the obsessions of the races and peoples that construct it.

The New Orleans school board decision, the New York Times comments, "underscores the maxim that history is written by those with the power." Just so. Let there be no illusion that it is power itself—not "reconciliation," "tolerance," "diversity," "harmony" or "equality"—that is in charge here, and it will be in charge until the rest of the nation recovers the power to halt it and keep the heritage that defines their own identity. ✪

Big Media's Big Lies About Handguns

Having blown its own feet off with its disastrous campaign for gun locks on handguns in Washington, the gun gestapo is having second thoughts about its recent adventure in populism. The people of Washington, it turned out, had about as much use for the gun locks measure as those in California do for affirmative action and illegal immigration, and they rejected compulsory trigger locks on all new hand guns by an avalanche of 71 percent to 29 percent. So there's nothing for the gestapo to do but pack it in on populism and get back to relying on elitism to disarm the masses.

Hence, the latest brainstorm of the gun controllers is to use Big Media as a propaganda tool in the war against privately owned firearms. Last week the Wall Street Journal reported on the formation of a new branch of the anti-gun lobby called Cease Fire, which seems to specialize in the tactics of the Big Lie.

Cease Fire was formed by Rolling Stone publisher Jann Wenner, who has been "sensitized" to guns ever since his buddy John Lennon got blasted out of his socks by a loose lunatic back in 1980. Mr. Wenner's crusade consists of rounding up some of the heaviest media czars in the country to preach against the evils of handguns.

The heavies include Walter Cronkite, Barry Diller of HSN, Michael Eisner of Disney, and actors Michael Douglas and Paul Newman, whose careers have in no small part been based on their portrayals of fast-drawing gunslingers. Together they persuaded other czars like Time Warner's Gerald Levin and Ellen Levine, editor of Good Housekeeping, to run ads against handguns on cable systems and in the magazine.

As described by the Journal article, the ads can be called nothing other than lies. One of them shows a small boy climbing onto a closet shelf to get hold of a handgun. When he gets it, he points it at his face, the audience hears a gun shot, and a message appears on the screen telling us, "10 children are killed by a handgun every day."

Obviously, too many children are killed by handguns, and obviously the kind of scene the ad describes happens. But it is simply untrue that it happens 10 times everyday. If it did, that would result in more than 3,600 accidental firearms deaths among children every year.

As a matter of fact, in 1995 there were 181 fatal gun accidents among children, and deaths of children caused by guns were 3 percent of all fatal accidents among children. Choking on a swallowed object accounted for 4.5 percent of accidental children's deaths in that year. As a cause of death among kids, hand guns simply aren't important.

The ads in fact inflate the numbers of gun-related fatalities among children by a couple of cute tricks. In the first place, they add in homicide and suicide figures. In the second place, they count as "children" late adolescents. Since lots of certain kinds of adolescents commit lots of certain kinds of homicides, that raises the ads' figures to a number that actually approximates reality.

But that's not what the ad tells us, and it's not what Mr. Wenner claims the ads are supposed to each us. The scene the ad describes is that of a very young child accidentally killing himself with a handgun stored in the home. If it told us the truth about gun fatalities among young people, it should show something like an inner-city teen-ager blowing away a rival gang member. But that points to a problem of law enforcement, not firearm safety.

Moreover, Mr. Wenner told the Journal that the ads are "trying to change perceptions." "The reason most men buy handguns is because they think they can protect their family. But it doesn't work. Handguns are much more likely to bring harm."

That too is a lie, since criminologist Gary Kleck, a gun control supporter, has shown that guns in the home stop crimes, deter burglaries and protect those who own them, but is does tell us the purpose of the ads: to disinform the public about hand guns, establish in the public mind the lies necessary to push gun control politically, and, specifically, to make people believe that a hand gun in the home means a danger to the lives of their children.

The Hollywood tycoons and super-rich stars who are peddling the big lies of Cease Fire have their own bodyguards and corporate security forces, so they don't need guns for their own safety. The real questions that Americans outside this elite should ask about Cease Fire and its lie campaign are: Why has the ruling class of the media signed up with gun gestapo, and why is it so insistent that the rest of us be disarmed? ✪

***Samuel Francis is nationally syndicated with Tribune Media and is an original contributor to* Southern Partisan.**

Conceived in Liberty: Joshua Chamberlain, William Oates, and the American Civil War

by Mark Perry
Viking, 1997, 493 pages, $31.95.

When the Confederate army marched into Pennsylvania, the natives gawked. "They had never seen such a filthy crew, loud and taunting in groups, but unfailingly polite when alone. The Keystoners learned a new American language: every woman became 'ma'am' or 'miss,' and every male 'sir,' and they were amused to know that none of Pennsylvania's offspring were 'children,' but 'young-uns.' Roughhewn, skinny, with tattered trousers, patched shirts, flop hats, and blankets . . . to the townspeople of Carisle, Pennsylvania, they looked like boys."

The Southerners noticed differences too. In the words of Dorsey Pender of the Army of Northern Virginia: "This is a most magnificent country to look at; but the most miserable people. I have yet to see a nice looking lady."

Among the marching figures in butternut and grey was William Oates of the 15th Alabama who would lead his men against Joshua Chamberlain's 20th Maine at Little Round Top. Taking that action as his starting point, author Mark Perry has written a history of the war and Reconstruction through a dual biography charting the life of one of the most celebrated heros of the Union and one of the forgotten heroes of the Confederacy.

William Oates was born poor, the son of an Alabama farmer, but gifted with natural intelligence and fierce determination. As a young man he set out on his own, traveling in rough and tumble Louisiana and Texas, where he had plenty of scrapes and learned to survive by gouging his opponents' eyes. Eventually returning to Alabama, he put himself through a quick course of education, and became first a school teacher and then—with amazing application to pass the bar—a lawyer. Oates took a keen interest in politics, and while not a fire-breather, once Alabama's die was cast a secessionist state, Oates became commander of Company G of the Cantey Rifles of Alabama. During the course of his service, Oates would see action in Jackson's Shenandoah Campaign, under Longstreet at Gettysburg, at Chickamauga, and elsewhere. While he survived, his brother John didn't, cut down at Gettysburg, and Oates himself would have his right arm amputated after being wounded in action near Petersburg.

Chamberlain's story is better known, if just as remarkable. A young professor at Bowdoin college in Maine, Chamberlain had been raised in a family that admired both the South and martial glory. When war came, Chamberlain not only eagerly sought a commission, but found the army much more to his liking than scholarship and teaching. He, too, saw action throughout the war, and was badly wounded. And like Oates—who served as a state legislator, congressman, and Governor of Alabama—Chamberlain became an important political figure after the war, serving four terms as Governor of Maine, and was more than once mentioned as a possible candidate for national office. His ambition to become a U.S. Senator, however, was foiled—not only by the jealousy of his fellow Republican politicians, but by a vein of Calvinistic self-righteousness that began to irritate voters and colleagues as the glory of Little Round Top faded from memory.

Much of Chamberlain's program as governor could be lifted verbatim and enacted today. His instincts were conservative, in favor (perhaps ironically) of states' rights, low business taxes to create jobs, and the belief that moral reform (like prohibition) belonged outside the realm of politics (despite being abstemious himself). His post-war life had its moments of absurdity. As president of Bowdoin College he was forced by the college's board to back down after he tried to suspend virtually the entire student body for refusing his requirement military drill. And it had its share of sadness, because Chamberlain's homelife with his proto-feminist wife was not happy. But he had at least one fleeting flourish of heroism, when, unarmed, he defused a boiling political crisis in Maine's capital between armed gangs who threatened to take Maine's political future out of the ballot box and into the streets.

Oates was a political pragmatist. He was the first Confederate to recommend arming slaves to "make soldiers of them." This, Oates said, "could easily have been done, because the bonds of friendship between white boys and negroes was strong." While Oates's core values were those of a Southern conservative—he trusted in the traditions of the South, was steadfastly loyal to the Lost cause and his former comrades-in-arms, and was opposed to alien intrusions of immigration and federal power—he worried about the South lagging behind the industrial North; and he worried about the problem of race that still bedevilled the South.

While the end of *Conceived in Liberty* makes clear that Mark Perry doesn't like the Confederacy or even of the more lenient of Reconstructionists (like Chamberlain), and while he makes occasionally embarrassing errors (perhaps corrected in the final book; I read from the page proofs), he has nevertheless written one of the more interesting recent books on the Civil War and what it meant for America, with illuminating sidelights into nineteenth century American religion, the links between abolitionism and feminism, and the drift between the smoke of battle and the fog of politics. Well worth reading.

H. W. Crocker III is Executive Editor of Regnery Publishing and editorial adviser to the Conservative Book Club and Movie/Entertainment Book Club in Washington, D.C.

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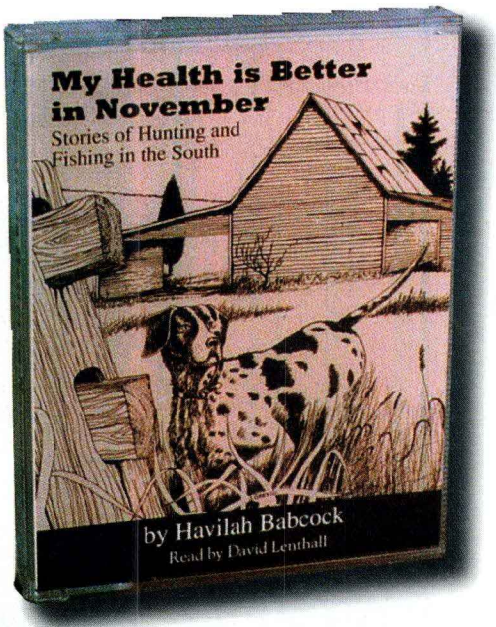


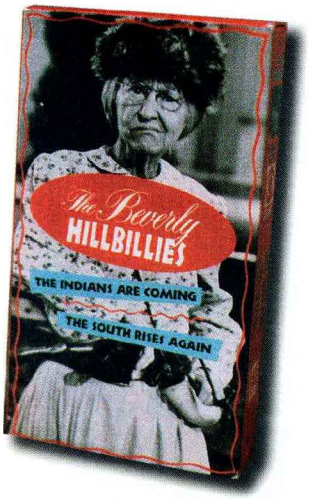
"My Health is Better in November" A hard to come by collection of humorous stories from famed Southern outdoorsman and writer, Havliah Babcock. These stories cover everything from Quail hunting to how to rid yourself of chiggers. Audio tape. 90 minutes.

37-2 ..... **$9.95**

Most items in previous catalogs still available. Call for information.

Genuine Confederate Afghan
Just like grandma's. This one's extra heavy and extra warm. Guaranteed to become a family heirloom. 100% cotton. Made in CSA. 5 x 4 ft.

37-1 ..... **$65.00**



Southern Cinema – Legendary episode of Beverly Hillbillies wherein Granny organizes Confederate defenses against Union invasion of Hollywood. Other great Southern titles available.

37-3 Beverly Hillbillies **$12.98**
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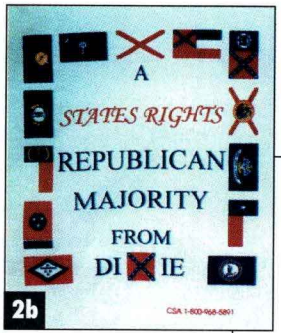
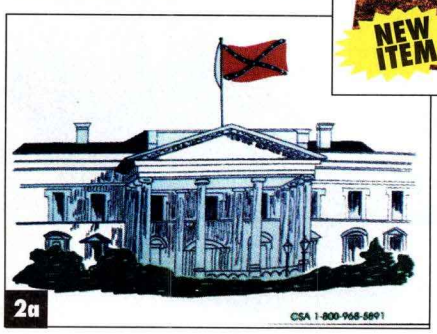
37-5 Jesse James **$12.95**





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These 100% cotton shirts are sure to get attention.

2a Front: I HAVE A DREAM. **$15**
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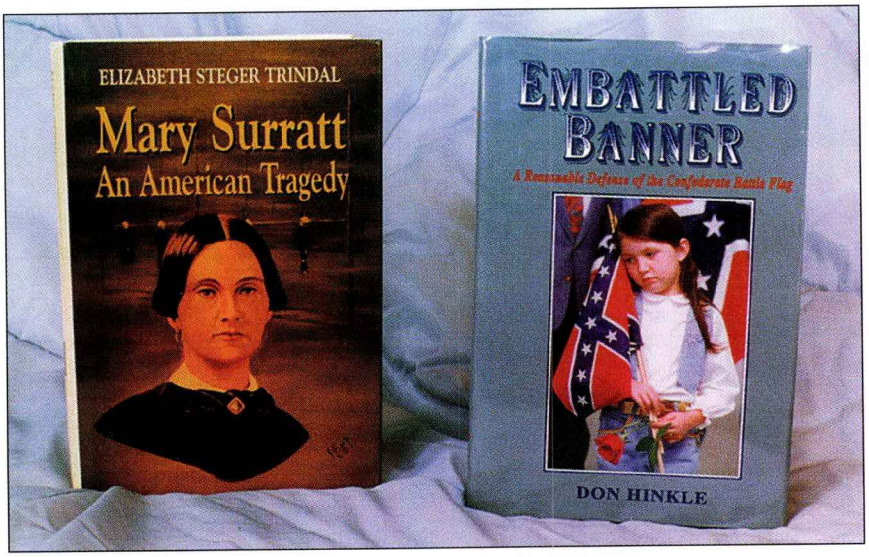
2c Front: PROTECT THE ENDANGERED **$15**
37-6 HOUSTON WE FIXED THE PROBLEM **$15**

NEW BOOKS ABOUT THE SOUTH—OLD AND NEW.



Mary Surratt: An American Tragedy – A Southern woman, Elizabeth Steger Trindall, looks at the truth behind the woman the Yankees hanged for alleged complicity with Lincoln's assassins.

37-7 Mary Surratt **$26.95**

Embattled Banner: A reasonable defense of the Confederate Battle Flag – Don Hinkle presents a well researched analysis of the Confederate flag's political troubles in the modern era. 186 pages plus endnotes and numerous black & white photographs.

37-8 Embattled Banner **$21.95**

Also available, Scots-Irish in the Carolinas, and Scots-Irish in the Hills of Tennessee. Both by Billy Kennedy of Belfast, Ireland (see 19f on next page).

Georgia Goodies—Wow. These are great tasting and as Confederate as Bedford Forrest's Cavalry.

4a–m Four Jars (approx. 9.5 oz each) **$20**

Select four from the following list in any combination: (a) Peach Preserves (b) Pear Preserves (c) Blackberry Jam (d) Peach Butter (e) Spiced Peach Chutney (f) Strawberry Preserves (g) Blueberry Preserves (h) Fig Preserves (I) Muscadine Jelly (j) Wild Honey (k) Chow Chow (l) Vidalia Onion Mustard (m) Vidalia Onion Relish.

Goodies will arive in an attractive gift box.

Historical Prints—These are the classic prints essential for any Confederate to have and to hold. All prices are for framed prints. Call for information about prints only.

PRINTS KEY

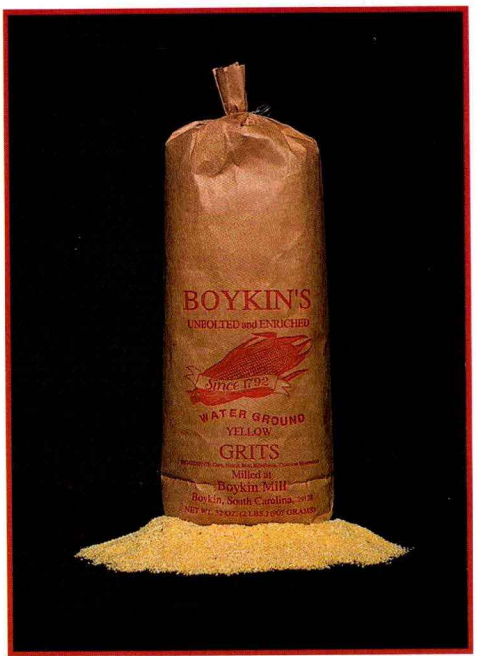
a	5x7	**$34**
b	8x10	**$48**
c	10x12	**$60**
d	15x18	**$130***
e	20x24	**$160***

**Note: These sizes are premium quality Victorian style frames.*

5 Robert E. Lee (a, b, c, d, e)
6 Stonewall Jackson (a, b, c, d, e)
7 J S Mosby (a, b, c)
8 Jefferson Davis (a, b, c)
9 JEB Stuart (a, b, c)
10 Bedford Forrest (a, b, c)
11 Lee on Traveler (a, b, c)
12 Great Seal of the Confederacy (a, b, c)
13 Flags of the Confederacy (a, b, c)
14 Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson
x- 16x18 $60
y- 25x30 $160
15 Lee's Farwell to the ANV (12X14) **$60**
16 The Union is Dissolved! (11X18) **$34**

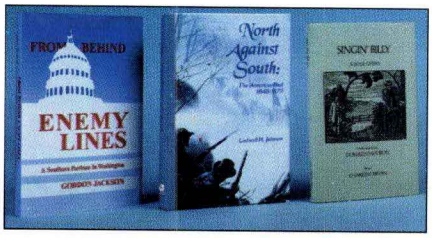
Confederate Tie—this is a tie worthy of its subject. Historical blooklet describing each tie included.

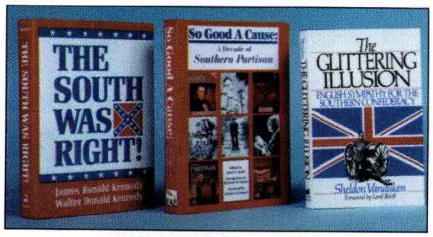
18a Blue Background **$38.50**
18b Burgundy Background **$38.50**

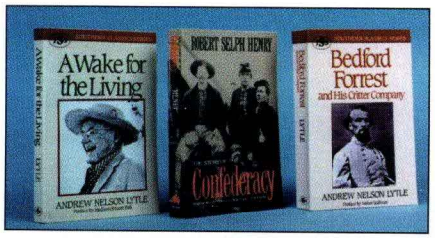


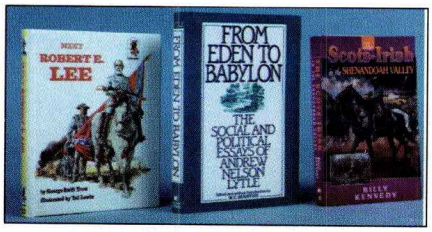
Boykin Grits—ever wonder what real, mill grits taste like? Here they are. Sold on QVC for $25.

17 Our price is only **$10**








MEET ROBERT E. LEE
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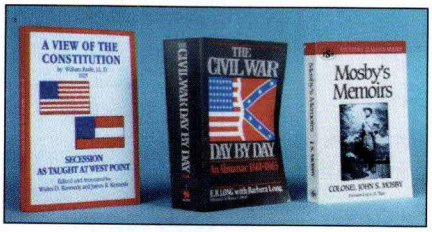
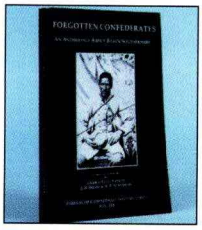
THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ESSAYS OF ANDREW NELSON LYTLE
Scots-Irish
in the SHENANDOAH VALLEY
BILLY KENNEDY





19p *Forgotten Confederates: An Anthology of Black Confederates*
Who says they didn't fight for their homes? Here's proof. **$15**

Confederate Books— This is the essential Southerner's library. But if we slighted your favorite author, or you want a book not listed, give us a call!

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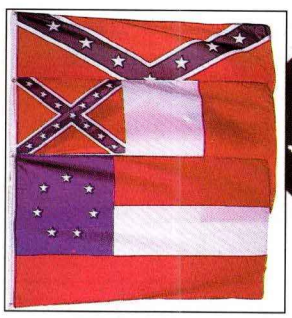
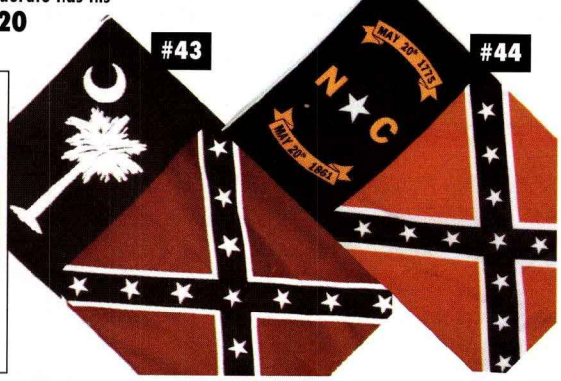




Flags, Flags, Flags — Here's most every banner of the South that existed, and a few we made up! All Flags 3' X 5'

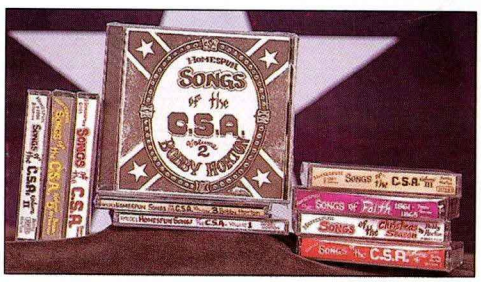
State Flags
22 Alabama (b, c)
23 Arkansas (b, c)
24 Florida (d, e)
25 Georgia (b, c)
26 Kentucky (d, e)
27 Louisiana (d, e)
28 Maryland (d, e)
29 Mississippi (b, c)
30 Missouri (d, e)
31 N. Carolina (b, c)
32 Oklahoma (d, e)
33 S. Carolina (b, c)
34 Tennessee (b, c)
35 Texas (d, e)
36 Virginia (d, e)

National Flags
37 Bonnie Blue (b, c, f)
38 First National (b, c, f)
39 Second National (b, c, g)
40 Third National (b, c, g)
41 Battleflag (b, c, h)

Other Flags
42 Big Red Citadel Cadets Flag (d)
43 Battleflag North Carolina (a)
44 Battleflag South Carolina (a)
45 Flag Pole Kit..... **$15**

FLAG KEY

a	Polyester	**$25**
b	Nylon	**$36**
c	Cotton	**$36**
d	Nylon	**$55**
e	Cotton	**$55**
f	Hand Sewn	**$55**
g	Hand Sewn	**$86**
h	Hand Sewn	**$120**



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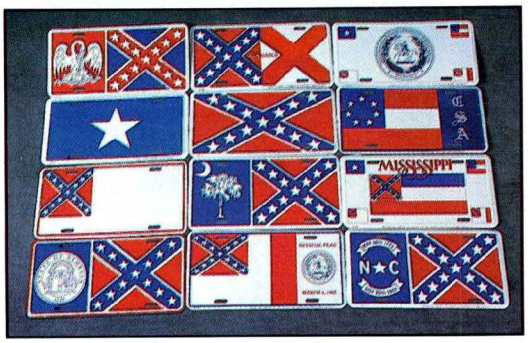
46b Songs of the CSA Volume II (cassette)
46c Songs of the CSA Volume III (cassette)
46d Songs of the CSA Volume IV (cassette)
46e Songs of the CSA Volume V (cassette)
46f Songs of the CSA Volume I (CD)
46g Songs of the CSA Volume II (CD)
46h Songs of the CSA Volume III (CD)
46i Songs of the CSA Volume IV (CD)

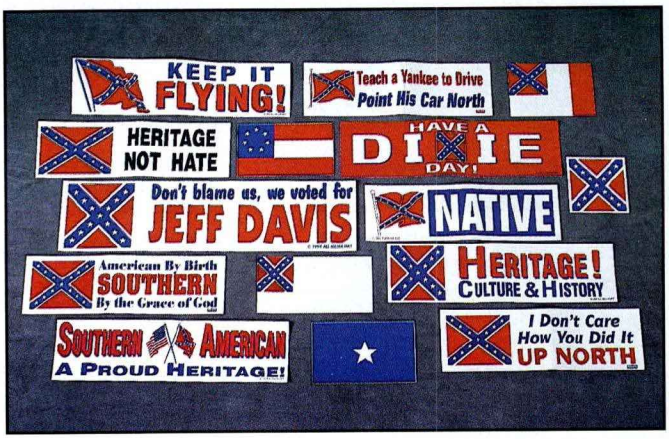


Officially Licenced — These tags will let the world know who you are, even at 65 miles per hour! ..... **$15 each**

48a Battleflag
48b Bonnie Blue
48c Great Seal
48d First National
48e Second National
48f Third National
48g Mississippi
48h S. Carolina
48i N. Carolina
48j Alabama
48k Louisiana
48l Georgia

Here's Mud in Your [Yankee] Eye — One of a kind Confederate Mugs. ..... **$12 each**

50a First National Mug
50b Great Seal of the Confederacy Mug
50c Battleflag Mug


KEEP IT FLYING!
Teach a Yankee to Drive Point His Car North
HERITAGE NOT HATE
HAVE A DIXIE DAY!
Don't blame us, we voted for JEFF DAVIS
NATIVE
American By Birth SOUTHERN By the Grace of God
HERITAGE! CULTURE & HISTORY
SOUTHERN AMERICAN A PROUD HERITAGE!
I Don't Care How You Did It UP NORTH

Stick with us —Note to subscribers north of the Mason-Dixon: you may want to make sure your insurance is current before risking one of these! ..... **$5 each**

49a "Teach a Yankee to Drive...Point His Car North"
49b "Native" with Battleflag
49c "Heritage, Not Hate" with Battleflag
49d "I Don't Care How You Did It Up North" with Battleflag
49e "Have a Dixie Day" with Battleflag
49f "Heritage, Culture, & History" with Battleflag
49g "Southern-American: A Proud Heritage" with CS and US Flags
49h "Keep It Flying" with Battleflag
49i "American By Birth: Southern By the Grace of God" with Battleflag
49j "Don't Blame Us, We Voted for Jeff Davis" with Battleflag
49k Bonnie Blue Flag
49l First National Flag
49m Second National Flag
49n Third National Flag
49o Battleflag

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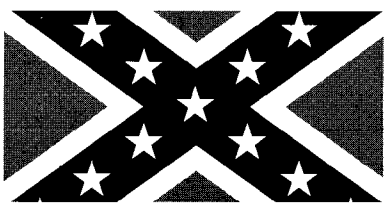

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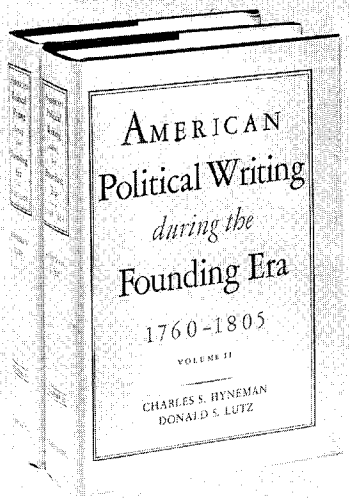

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